[illegible]

63 Periodicals [British School]

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
LIBRARY

PAPERS

OF THE

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

SHL
WITHDRAWN

PAPERS
OF THE
BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

Price £2 10s.
(£2 to Subscribers)

PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

VOLUME XXV

(NEW SERIES, VOLUME XII)

1957

PUBLISHED BY THE
BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME at 1, LOWTHER GARDENS, EXHIBITION ROAD,
LONDON, S.W.7

© Copyright The British School at Rome, 1, Lowther Gardens, London, S.W.7

BIBL.
LONDIN.
UNIV.

Printed in Great Britain
BY W. HEFFER & SONS LTD.
CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND

CONTENTS

PAGE

D. H. TRUMP, The Prehistoric Settlement at La Starza, Ariano Irpino . 1

F. CASTAGNOLI and L. COZZA, Appunti sulla Topografia di Pyrgi . . 16

C. C. VAN ESSEN, The Via Valeria from Tivoli to Collarmele . . . 22

G. U. S. CORBETT, Investigations at "Julianos' Church" at Umm-el-Jemal 39

M. W. FREDERIKSEN and J. B. WARD PERKINS, The Ancient Road Systems of the Central and Northern Ager Faliscus. (Notes on Southern Etruria, 2) 67

Indexes 205

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/papers-of-the-british-school-at-rome_1957_25

THE PREHISTORIC SETTLEMENT AT LA STARZA, ARIANO IRPINO

(Plates I and II)

A short note published in 1925 in the *Bullettino di Paletnologia Italiana* (vol. xlv, p. 153) briefly recorded the discovery of prehistoric material during quarrying for gypsum near Ariano five years previously. A footnote to an article by Rellini three years later[1] was a little more explicit. The finds, from collapsed caves at the foot of a hill, were largely of the Apennine Culture of the Bronze Age with some painted Neolithic ware. The same statement is repeated almost word for word in Rellini's *La Più Antica Ceramica Dipinta in Italia*, p. 75. Then in 1950, in an article on the prehistoric collections in the Museo Nazionale di Napoli,[2] Buchner wrote a short paragraph which attracted far less attention than it deserved. It recorded that in material sent in from the quarry between 1920 and 1938 impressed and scratched neolithic pottery was also present.

My interest was aroused by the richness of the Apennine finds and by the fact that they seemed to be so little known. Dr. Buchner told me that the site itself had never been studied. A visit in early February 1956 was cut very short by a snow-storm, but an hour and a half was sufficient to convince me of its possibilities. Accordingly permission was asked from, and granted by, Professor Maiuri, Superintendent of Antiquities for Campania, and the owner, Sig. A. Gambacorta of Ariano, for a surface investigation, to both of whom, as well as to Dr. Buchner, I wish to express my grateful thanks. The investigation was carried out between 29 September and 8 October following, with the valuable assistance of my mother, the following being a report of the results.

I. TOPOGRAPHY

At the northern edge of the province of Avellino and 25 km. due east of Benevento, rises the prominent hill-top crowned by the small town of Ariano Irpino. Between the hills around it, those above Buonalbergo and Castelfranco and those behind Savignano di Puglia, all above 800 m., is a triangle of rolling hilly country between 400 and 600 m. above sea-level. It can hardly be described as a basin, since the western part is drained by the Miscano into the Calore and the Tyrrhenian Sea, the eastern is cut into more deeply by the Cervaro, draining into the Adriatic. Only in one place north of Catanzaro, in the toe of Italy, does the Apennine watershed drop to a lower level than here, 564 as against 591 m.; that exception is the pass near Vinchiaturo, Campobasso. Its suitability as a trans-peninsular route is enhanced by the two valleys already mentioned, which open directly into Campania and northern Apulia respectively. The modern road and railway from Naples to Foggia both cross it.

Near the south-west corner of this triangle, an outcrop of gypsum rises through the earthy cover to form a prominent hill, practically the only break in the otherwise

---

[1] *Bullettino di Paletnologia Italiana* (hereafter *B.P.I*), xlviii, 1928, p. 38.

[2] *Rivista di Scienze Preistoriche*, v, 1950, p. 98.

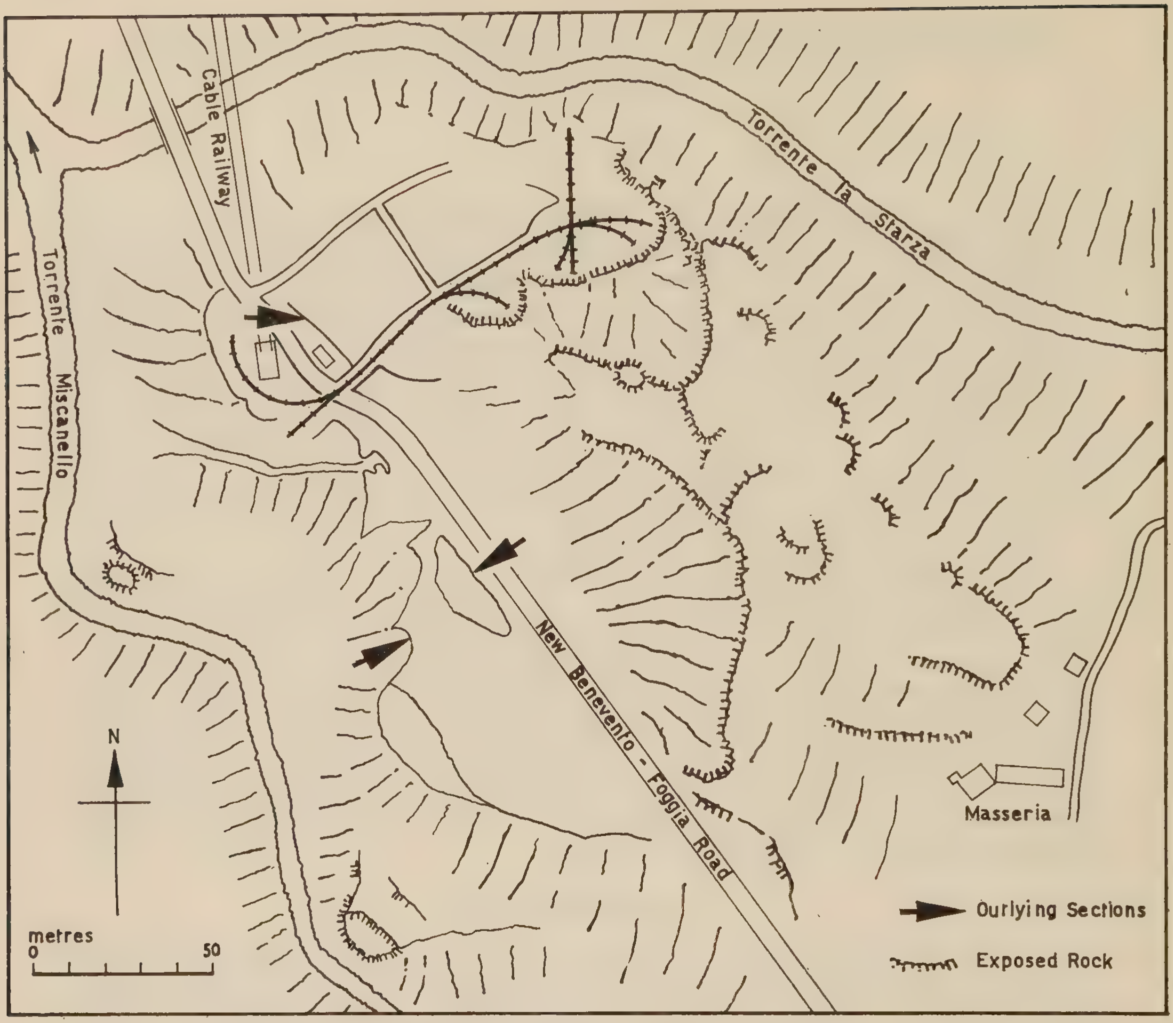


FIG. 1. LA STARZA, GENERAL PLAN

smooth contours of the area. It is further cut off by two streams, La Starza to the north and Miscanello to the west, which join immediately after passing the hill and in turn flow into the Miscano a kilometre beyond. It is a naturally defended site, the only one for some considerable distance. That it was occupied in prehistoric times seems thus less surprising than that, fortunately for the prehistorian, the occupation ceased finally during the Iron Age.[3]

[3] Quarrymen reported to me the discovery and immediate destruction some years ago of a Roman inscribed marble slab; there is a small site of the Roman period on the ridge near the modern farm 200 m. to the north; a very large one lies above the Masseria S. Eleuterio 3 km. to the north, whence came a small altar inscribed VIBIDIA SIX-LIBERT - FORTVNATA - VENERI POSVI-LDDD, since removed to Naples Museum. There was some vague talk of 'giganti' on the site, to whom all the prehistoric artefacts are locally attributed, and 'gypsies' were said to have camped periodically on the southern spur of the hill—perhaps in connection with cattle movement along the *tratturo* which passes immediately beneath. There is now a small farm below it to the south, from which must have come the very few recent sherds picked up at that end of the site.

The hill is to-day (figs. 1 and 2) 110 m. long by 40 wide, figures that would originally have been about 175 m. by 50 before the quarries were opened in the north end and along the western side. The saddle joining it to the higher ground on the south is some 30 m., and the streams 80 m., below the level of the summit,[4] forming its natural defences. The crest is rather irregular and rocky, with the exception of a few level earth-covered patches, of which the largest are between the two highest points and on the blunt-ended spur to the south. Here there is no active erosion, and sherds are very few and small; a flint nucleus was picked up on the second. They were, however, probably the sites of settlements, since the two smaller ones, on either side of the northern peak and cut by the two quarries, certainly were. The first of these showed hearths and habitation deposits (Rinaldone culture) in section; the second, exposed in the lip of the north quarry, must be discussed more fully below (p. 14) for its important evidence of stratigraphy.

Level with the saddle and running along the eastern flank of the hill is a terrace, narrowing to the north, between the rock outcrop of the hill and the steep escarpment of earth and stone above the Torrente La Starza. One incised early neolithic sherd was found on this terrace and many Bronze Age sherds on it or just below the lip of the escarpment, where they are being disclosed by slow natural erosion.

The whole of the area to the north and west of the hill as far as the two streams is now very broken and disturbed. In several places Apennine material is exposed *in situ.* Some of this is in undisturbed deposits, as shown by hearths, a floor and a wall: more has been derived from above in antiquity through the agency of man or nature. Very few sherds earlier than the Bronze Age were found in this area, none in position.

The caves mentioned in the early reports, with three minor exceptions (H1, H2 and H3 on the map), have been completely demolished or buried by the talus of the quarry spoil since that date. The three located are crevices rather than caves, and could never have been inhabited; the deposits in them suggest use for rubbish disposal and burial only. All material, apart from a single sherd of fine impressed ware found in cave 1 and a chip of obsidian, was pure Apennine.

From the evidence of the sherds, then, the earlier settlements seem to have been limited to the hill-top and, perhaps, the eastern terrace. The Apennine occupation was more general round the foot of the hill, though probably continuing over the summit. Any doubt about this last point is due to the fact that the upper levels of the quarry sections are, as can be imagined, much the most difficult and dangerous to examine. The talus slopes immediately below them certainly contain Apennine sherds amongst the earlier material. The caches of broken Apennine pottery in the caves, too, are more likely to have been brought down from above than up from below.

II. THE MATERIAL

The material discussed is grouped typologically; the chronological order of the groups on the site cannot be presumed beyond the deductions drawn in section 3, though the general order is, of course, known from work elsewhere. Most sherds and objects were found lying on the surface in such position that their source, if not their stratigraphic level, is known. Material found *in situ* in its original context, on the one hand, and, on the other, sporadic finds that may have come from any section now exposed or quarried into in the past are noted separately.

---

[4] The altitude of this is almost exactly 400 m.

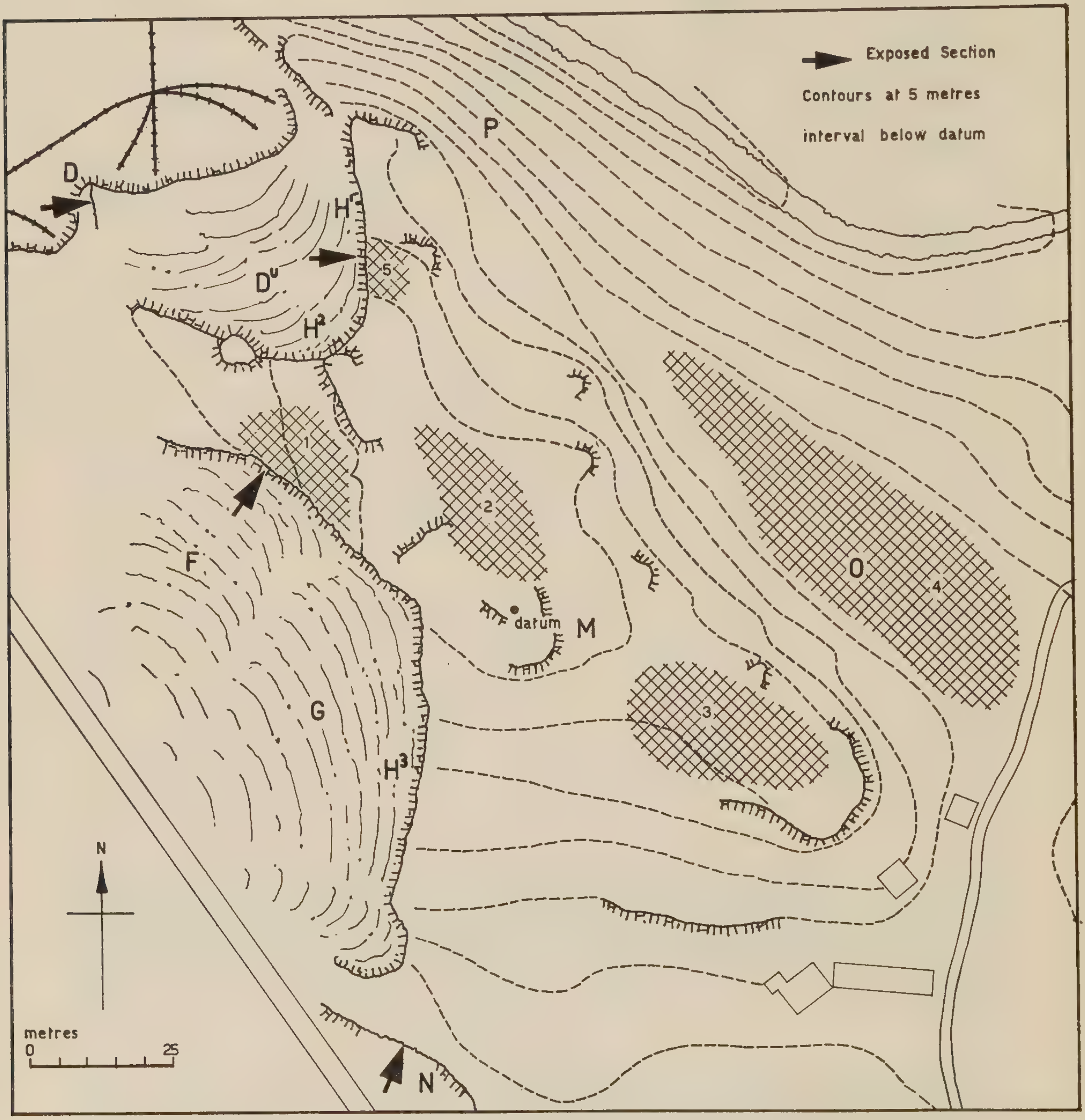


FIG. 2. LA STARZA, THE HILL. THE SHADED AREAS REPRESENT THE SETTLEMENTS

(*a*) *Impressed Ware*

This ware is to be found *in situ* in areas Du and G and is common on the slopes of talus below each. One sherd came from O and is presumably local there since there is no evidence of disturbance on that side of the hill. Two came from DI, and there were a few sporadic sherds.

The ware is rather variable. At one end of the range is a coarse gritty buff or grey fabric, the inner face of which is slightly smoothed. More common is a grey-to-red ware, rather less coarse, and occasionally distinctly sandy. It is often very thick and is smoothed on both faces. The finer ware is thin, hard, burnished, and much darker than either of the others. Only its decoration distinguishes it from the wares treated below.

Very few shapes can be recognised. A high narrow cylindrical neck, probably on a more or less spherical jar (fig. 3, *a*) is one, which can be compared with the shorter but more complete example from Monteverde, Terlizzi.[5] Another is the heavy bowl with thick, slightly curved and out-sloping wall shown in fig. 3, *b* and, in finer ware, fig. 3, *c*. No complete example is published, but it is probably the type of the rim sherds often depicted, for example by Mayer.[6] The two handles found, (fig. 3, *d*), are both little more than horizontally pierced lugs.[7] There are also two base sherds, slightly (fig. 3, *e*) or markedly (fig. 3, *f*) out-turned (cf. the Monteverde vessel referred to above).

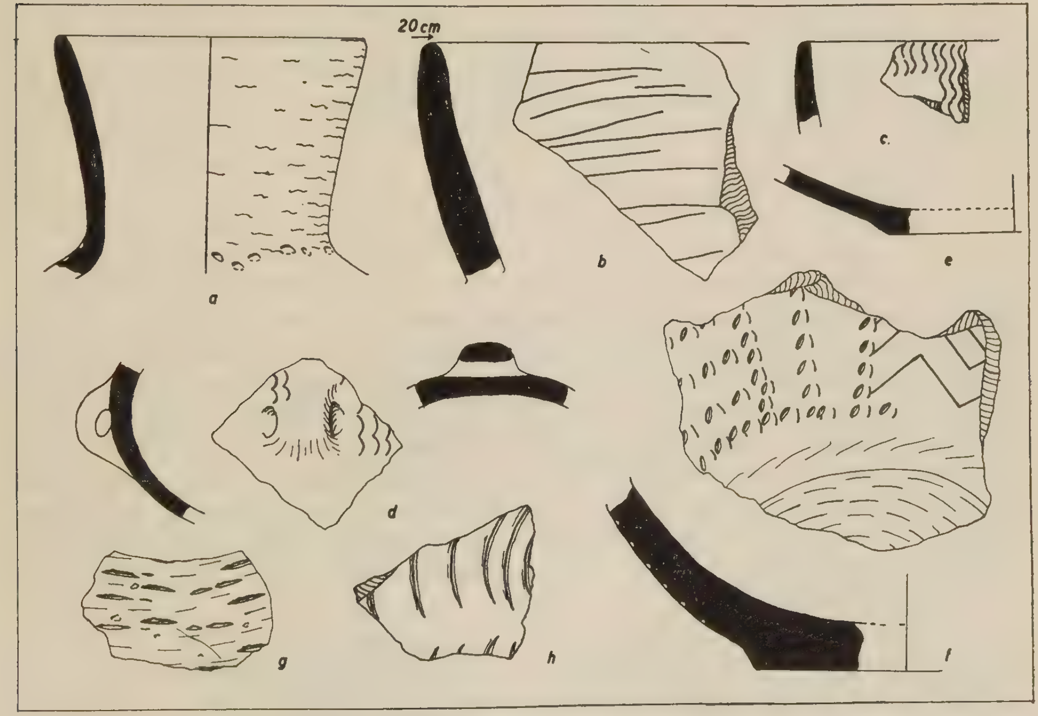


Fig. 3. Impressed Ware. Scale 1:3

---

[5] *Monumenti Antichi* (hereafter *Mon. Ant.*), xx, 1910, col. 285, fig. 33.

[6] Mayer, *Molfetta und Matera*, Taf. VIII, Abb. 4 and 5, which are very close to ours in decoration also.

[7] This is at variance with Stevenson's conclusion in *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 1947, p. 86.

All the common impressed-ware decorative motives are present[8] except the true cardial technique—paired finger nails (fig. 3, *f*), rows of vertical, horizontal or herring-bone impressed lines (pl. II, *h*; fig. 3, *g*; pl. II, *f*), the characteristic rocker-pattern (sporadic, pl. II, *i*). Also common are soft-incised lines irregularly applied horizontally (fig. 3, *b*), all over diamond-wise (pl. II, *g*), or in more regular vertical or horizontal chevrons (fig. 3, *f*). The attribution of the incised ware to this group is certain both from the fabric and, even more conclusively, from the occurrence of incision and impression on the same sherd in two cases (e.g. fig. 3, *f*). The same happens on one sherd from Molfetta,[9] and incision is known from other Apulian sites, notably from Monteverde, where it was present in an even higher proportion than here.[10] Pl. II, *l*, the ware of which is also identical, presents an unusual feature of surface smearing.

The above motives are all found on the coarse and medium wares. The fine-ware sherds, apart from pl. II, *j* and one, sporadic, with a single row of straight impressions, are decorated exclusively with small, neat half-circles set closely in deliberate patterns, not as on the coarser fabric simply to cover the surface of the pot at all costs. Figs. 3, *c* and *d*, give good examples and there are others, always on the dark burnished ware. Pl. II, *j* is something quite different, without parallel. The effect is that of a cord-impression, but the technique is a careful version of that illustrated in pl. II, *i*; the design is possibly zoomorphic.

The parallels quoted have all been drawn from Apulia, and it is clear that the settlement at La Starza is a simple extension, by way of the Cervaro, from the sites that Bradford has discovered about Foggia.[11] Impressed ware is unknown elsewhere in Campania, or indeed on the west side of Italy south of Liguria.[12] It does occur on Lipari,[13] but only in the distinctive Sicilian form (cf. Stentinello).

(*b*) *Painted Ware*

Only seven sherds of early painted pottery were found. Two, pl. II, *c* and *d*, were *in situ* in Du; one more, very similar to the last, lay on the slope below. One, pl. II, *n*, came from the deposit in DI, and three from the section at F (pl. II, *k* and two like *m*). Unpainted sherds of the same characteristic ware came from the same sections, but even so the material is too scanty to be very informative. Nor is it homogeneous. The sherd from DI is of the 'a fasce larghe' variety, and could be from some such vessel as those from Murgecchia illustrated by Stevenson.[14] Pl. II, *d* is equally clearly 'a fasce strette,' the brown paint and greyish-buff body linking it with the special variety mentioned by Rellini and Stevenson,[15] a sherd from Canne also being decorated inside and out. The simple line round the bottom of the collar of fig. 4, *b* is too simple to be significant, and the red-and-white on buff of pl. II, *c* again does not take one very far. The painted lip, black on a coarser sherd, seems to be different again.

---

[8] They are too common on Apulian sites for individual parallels to be necessary. For the wider implications see Bradford's forthcoming book and Bernabo Brea, *Gli Scavi nella Caverna delle Arene Candide*, p. 259. For other illustrations: Cannae, Stevenson, *op. cit.*, pl. I; Molfetta and Terlizzi, references quoted above; the Tavoliere, Bradford; the Tremiti Islands, *B.P.I.*, xxxiii, 1907, tav. I.

[9] Mayer, Taf. V, 3.

[10] *Not. Scav.*, vii, 1910, p. 33, figs. 15–22.

[11] Not yet published.

[12] Bernabo Brea, *op. cit.*

[13] *B.P.I.* n.s., x, 1956, p. 19 and fig. 6.

[14] Stevenson, *op. cit.*, pl. III, figs. 2 and 4.

[15] Rellini, *La Più Antica Ceramica Dipinta in Italia*, 1934, p. 73, E; Stevenson, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

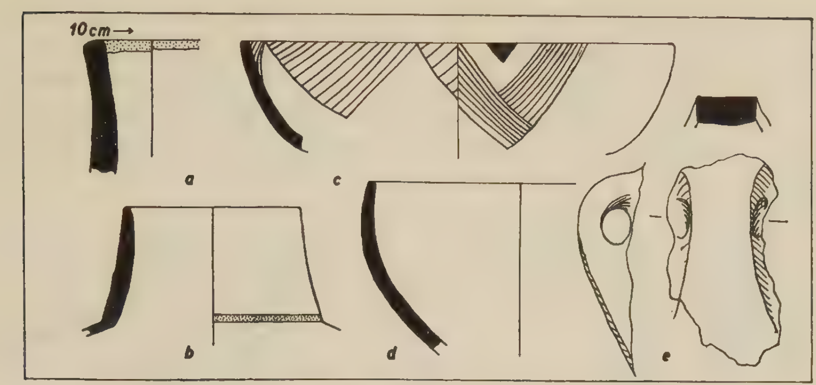


Fig. 4. Painted Neolithic Ware. Scale 1:3

The ware is orange-buff, varying slightly towards reddish or greyish buff, a very fine hard fabric, well burnished and fired. A slightly coarser variety, darker, less polished and with a black core, is shown in fig. 4, *a*, a jar neck. Otherwise the only recognisable forms are the high cylindrical neck and open bowl (figs. 4, *b*, *c* and *d*). Handles are fully developed vertical straps, some (fig. 4, *e*) of very graceful form.

The whole question of early painted wares in Italy is much more confused than that of the impressed wares. Some types have been distinguished, such as the Serra d'Alto, Capri and Ripoli styles, and more must be awaiting recognition. Again, as well as the sherds mentioned by Rellini as combining painted (usually 'a fasce strette') with scratched decoration, more have recently been found in north Apulia with painted ('a fasce larghe') and impressed ornament. Bradford regards the broad and narrow bands as contemporary with early and late impressed ware respectively.[16] La Starza may perhaps throw some light on these problems at some future date.

(*c*) *Scratched Ware*

This very distinctive decoration was found in two areas, DI and G, seven sherds in all. It is probably commoner than this would suggest, since undecorated sherds are hard to distinguish from the following wares. The fabric is of medium thickness with no grits visible. The surface is well burnished, usually vertically, at least on the inner face, and is brownish or greyish black with a darker core. After firing, the decoration was scratched through the burnish with a sharp point, resulting in slight flaking along the edges of all lines, which were then filled with red (five examples) or white (figs. 5, *b* and *e*).

The decoration consists of simple geometric designs—cross-hatched chequers, hatched triangles hanging from the rim, multiple or hatched zig-zags, and variously filled bands (fig. 5). Again parallels are too numerous to quote individually.[17] Vessel shapes are better known in this period, only the simple open and almost spherical bowls (figs. 5, *a*–*c* and *e*) being represented in the 1956 finds.[18]

---

[16] In support of which one sherd from Ariano now in Naples has painted 'a fasce strette' and an impressed rocker pattern.

[17] Stevenson, *op. cit.*, pl. II and Mayer, *op. cit.*, Taf. XXI and XXII.

[18] Naples Museum has a 'bottiglia' neck so decorated amongst the sporadic material previously found at La Starza.

La Starza again seems to be in the position of an outlying site in the distribution of this ware. Its centre is Matera, spreading to central Apulia (Molfetta). The only other recorded site north of the Ofanto appears to be Macchia-a-Mare in the Gargano, though a few sherds are known from the Marche. Bradford tells the writer that it is remarkably rare on his Tavoliere sites. On the west coast it is not found south of northern Toscana and Liguria.

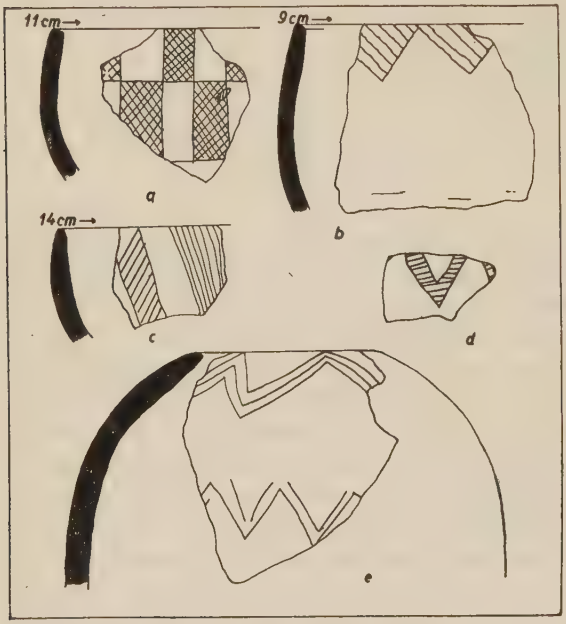


Fig. 5. Scratched Ware

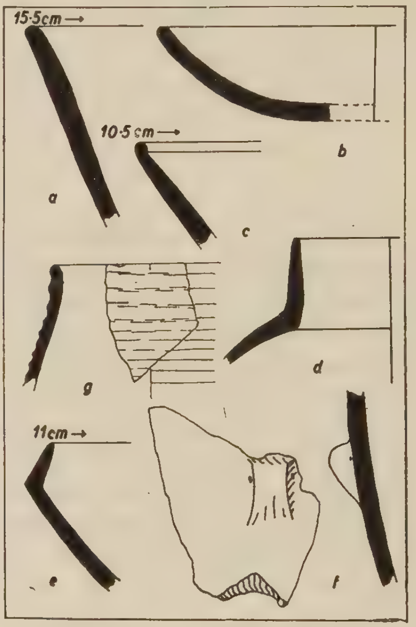


Fig. 6. Eneolithic Wares

Scale 1:3

(*d*) *Rinaldone Ware*

A quite different, undecorated ware, which belongs to the Rinaldone culture of central Italy is well represented *in situ* in F, and is also present in Du, DI and G. It is much like the last in fabric and burnish, but rarely darker in core than surface. The latter, due to irregular firing, is often blotchy or patchy in colour, black or 'off-black,' or occasionally red, never orange as in the painted ware.[19] Intimately associated with this in F, perhaps unrecognised elsewhere, is a singularly poor and formless ware, greyish, very coarse and gritty, sandy to the touch and with no attempt at polishing. Wide strap handles and a small cup-like jar are the only shapes so far attested.

Of the finer-ware forms, far the most frequent is an open bowl with straight or slightly convex walls (figs. 6, *a–c*).[20] One of these has almost a bead-rim. Also common is the vertical-necked jar, or 'bottiglia,' the best known vessel of this culture.[21] A good example is shown in fig. 6, *d*; pl. II, *a* and *b* are sherds of the same type. Rarely present is a carinated bowl with a fairly deep, slightly curved body on a flat base, and a short, straight, in-sloping neck with a simple lip. This type is less familiar, though one was found at Ripoli in the Vibrata Valley.[22] Two lug handles are remarkably similar to those from Andria (fig. 6, *f*).[23] One sherd,[24] of black polished ware with horizontal grooves in groups of threes and fours, is certainly from the neck of one of the extraordinary square askoi or pitchers typical of the Gaudo necropolis, Paestum.[25] Another single sherd of particular interest is fig. 6, *g*, associated with this ware *in situ* at F. It is the slightly concave, in-sloping neck of a small vessel in burnished black ware with very distinct wide horizontal rippling on the outer surface. It is most unusual for the Italian mainland, but can be paralleled very closely from the Piano Conte culture on Lipari.[26] The connection is less strange than it may sound, since Lipari obsidian is found in the same level. Another sherd, sporadic but described here for convenience, is very similar in shape, with a soft-incised decoration. It is remarkably like a vessel from the Gargano illustrated by Quagliati,[27] and resembles the incised sherds in the Museo Pigorini from the Vibrata Valley.[28]

---

[19] This ware is virtually absent from the Naples collection.

[20] Cf. Ripoli, in Rellini, *op. cit.*, p. 31, fig. 14*a*.

[21] E.g., *B.P.I.*, xxxi, 1905, Tav. I, fig. 4 from Toppo S. Filippo.

Whereas the wares so far considered have connections with the south and east, this ware as a whole looks to the north and west. It is known from many rock-cut tombs in Lazio and Toscana, spreading across to the Marche and the Abruzzi, and down into Campania as far as Toppo S. Filippo (Colle Sannita, north of Benevento) and Fiumane (Gesualdo, south of Grottaminarda).[29] South of this lies the area of the Gaudo culture, whose nearest site, at Mirabello Eclano,[30] is only 20 km. south of La Starza. To the south-east is a less well defined region, including the sites of Andria and Gioia del Colle, contact with which is indicated by the lug-handles. Finally there is the far vaguer area suggested by the Ariano–Gargano–Vibrata parallels. Our knowledge of the period would be far fuller and clearer if it was based on more than the tombs, Ripoli being virtually the only excavated domestic site.

(*e*) *Apennine Ware*

Quite distinctive in shape and usually also in fabric, and represented by a great variety of types of vessel, handle and decoration, is the Apennine ware, which in quantity exceeds all the others put together. Its distribution on the site has been adequately described in section 2.

The pottery of this period is well known, and it will be enough in the present context to mention a few points and to illustrate a few sherds of particular interest.[31]

---

[22] Rellini, *op. cit.*, p. 31, fig. 14*b*.

[23] *B.P.I.*, xxxi, 1905, Tav. VIII, fig. 1; IX, fig. 2; X, fig. 2.

[24] Sporadic in the north quarry.

[25] It is identical in ware and decoration and compatible in shape, although this sherd includes neither rim nor shoulder, with two examples in Naples Museum. See P. C. Sestieri, *Paestum Guide* (in the Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione series, "*Itinerari dei Musei e Monumenti d'Italia* no. 84), fig. 58, lower left.

[26] *B.P.I.* n.s., x, 1956, p. 39, fig. 20, 1. Similar decoration occurs on a small jar of much coarser ware from the Grotta Nicolucci, Sorrento, now in the Istituto di Antropologia, Naples University. It is illustrated, though poorly, in *Mon. Ant.*, xxix, 1923, col. 396, fig. 36*b*.

[27] *La Puglia Preistorica*, 1936, p. 115, fig. 28.

[28] *Mon. Ant.*, xix, 1908, Tav. IX, fig. 60B and D.

[29] *B.P.I.*, xx, 1894, p. 29.

[30] *R.S.P.*, v, 1950, p. 101. The decoration of the Ariano sherd occurs at the type site but not at Mirabello.

[31] I hope later to publish the results of a detailed study, not yet complete, of the regional variations of the Apennine Cultures.

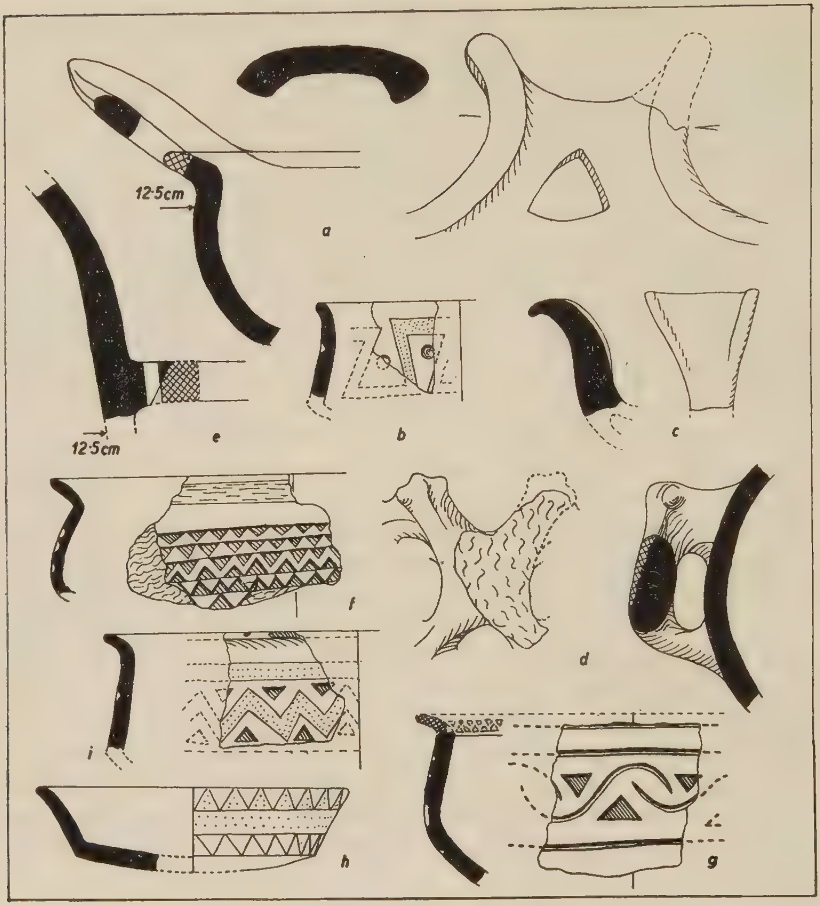


Fig. 7. Apennine Ware. Scale 1:3

Suffice it to say that in this period La Starza belongs to the Campanian region culturally as it always has geographically. Nevertheless, the ceramic types that it has in common with, for example, Coppa Nevigata are enough to demonstrate cultural connections with the east coast. These can be separated into three groups. Some recognisably Apulian types occur also at Ariano, and occasionally further into Campania. An excellent example is the handle so characteristic of Coppa Nevigata as to deserve the name of 'Nevigata handle,' since 26 specimens, and four more that are closely related, have come from that site;[32] Ariano has produced one, Pertosa[33] another; the Tarentine sites with three, Grotta Manaccora with two,[34] Filottrano and the Gola del Sentino with one each, complete the list. Conversely some Campanian types are found occasionally in Apulia, such as the many dotted-band or cut-out running-spiral patterns, which are common in north-central Italy and Campania[35] as far as Ariano, but absent from the south-east except for

---

[32] *Mon. Ant.*, xix, 1908, Tav. VI, figs. 31 and 32.

[33] *B.P.I.*, lii, 1932, p. 40, Tav. III, fig. 6.

[34] *Papers of the British School at Rome*, xxi, 1953, p. 11, fig. 5, 31; *B.P.I.*, l–li, 1930, p. 132, Tav. IX, figs. 2 and 3.

[35] Including Latronico in Lucania, *Mon. Ant.*, xxiv, 1916, col. 501, fig. 36.

Nevigata and Canne. Lastly there are a few types virtually characteristic of Ariano, from which they are diffused to the Campanian coast on the one hand and Nevigata on the other. The flat-flanged tongue-handle[36] shown in fig. 7, *a*, which is closely connected with the origin of the Filottrano handle, is found at La Starza, Nevigata and Ischia;[37] the dovetail pattern of fig. 7, *b* with circles or triangles in the voids occurs at La Starza, Nevigata and, in cut-out technique, Vivara.[38] Examples of all three groups could be multiplied several times.

A few sherds suggest an even wider range of contact. Fig. 7, *c*, sporadic, represents a type of handle as characteristic of Bari as the Nevigata handle is of its type-site. There are 26 in the Bari Museum.[39] Elsewhere six are known from the Scoglio del Tonno, two from S. Vito dei Normanni near Brindisi, and one each from Leporano, Crispiano, Molinello near Vieste in the Gargano, and Manaccora.[40] The only previous example outside Apulia is a doubtful one from Ausonian I at Lipari.

The even more distinctive shape of fig. 7, *d*[41] also has an interesting, though less explicit, distribution. There are four examples from Toscanella Imolese,[42] one each from the Grotta S. Angelo at the northern edge of the Abruzzi, the Grotta Nicolucci at Sorrento, and Grotta Pertosa.[43] On the other hand, the curious modelling of the upper left pier (the right one is missing) of this example, while recalling the Nevigata handles already referred to, is remarkably close to ten handle sherds from Ausonian I at Lipari. Here square handles rise from the rim with the two corners drawn out into knobs exactly as on this handle, but continuing behind into an over-curving cobra-hood.[44] The link with Lipari may not be a direct one at this period. A study of the distribution of types of vessel and handle proves that the Ausonian culture has its origins on the east side of Italy, certainly no further south than the Gargano, and the similarity may be due to a common origin, a view supported by the Nevigata handles.[45]

Fig. 7, *e*, again sporadic, illustrates another example of widespread contacts, in this case representing a fusion of two types. One of these[46] is widespread in various closely related forms in south Italy.[47] Sherds of five from La Starza are in Naples and two more were found during the present research. Only two[48] come from north of Campania-Gargano. Puglisi has convincingly shown that its purpose was to prevent milk in a vessel beneath from boiling over when large quantities had to be boiled for long periods during cheese-making.[49] To the north, its place is taken by the second type, a jar with an internal ledge on which is placed, inverted, a funnel with perforations near the lip, giving exactly the same effect—an enclosed space in the cover of which a large central hole is surrounded by a ring of smaller ones. Of this type of vessel there are only three examples on the mainland south of a line from Rome to Teramo,[50] and one of the associated funnels.[51] The type illustrated here from La Starza is one of these northern ledged-jars with the ring of perforations transferred from the funnel to the internal ledge. The only other vessel of this type that has come to the writer's notice is one, or rather a small sherd of part of the wall and ledge of one, from Scoglio del Tonno in Taranto Museum. The same site produced a vessel midway in form between the northern funnel and the southern type of vessel mentioned above, being a low funnel with a handle to the lip of the central hole. It differed from both in having no other holes, and must therefore have been used with a vessel of this third, hybrid, type.[52] Here then is a combination as efficient as either of the others, owing something of its development to both. Welcome confirmation would be provided by the discovery of a hybrid funnel of the Taranto type at La Starza.

---

[36] This term was used by Peet and is far more convenient than the Italian 'ansa a nastro eretto.'

[37] La Starza—4 examples in Naples, 3 collected by us; Nevigata—1 in Taranto Museum, 1 in Rome University collection; Castiglione—1 in Ischia Museum, *B.P.I.* n.s., i, 1936, p. 73, fig. 1.

[38] In Naples and our sherd, Taranto, and Ischia respectively.

[39] For illustrations see Gervasio, *I Dolmen e la Civiltà del Bronzo nelle Puglie*, figs. 67, 68, 75 (1, 4, 5, 6, 7) and 76 (2 and 5).

[40] The last and one of the first are in Rome University, all the others in Taranto.

[41] From cave 2.

[42] 1 in the Biblioteca Communale, Imola, 3 in the Museo Civico, Bologna.

[43] Museo Pigorini, Rome, *B.P.I.*, xxxiii, 1907, Tav. V, fig. 5; Naples University; Museo Nazionale, Naples.

[44] Illustrated, not very clearly, in *B.P.I.* n.s., x, 1956, p. 71, fig. 45*n*.

[45] Note in this respect *k*. in the same figure as the last.

[46] *Mon. Ant.*, ix, 1899, col. 573, fig. 24, from Pertosa.

[47] *Papers of the British School at Rome*, xxi, 1953, p. 6, fig. 3.18 shows a sherd of one, inverted, from Manaccora.

[48] One from Pian Sultano in the Pigorini, and a doubtful one from Trebbo Sei Vie in Bologna.

[49] Prof. Puglisi has kindly allowed me to use this information in advance of his own publication.

In general terms, Ariano is clearly a Campanian site. It differs from the rest of the region only in details; one of these has been already mentioned, the presence of North Apulian elements, just as Latronico, at the southern edge of the same region, has a few proper to the Taranto area. Another, more fundamental, difference is the important part played in the decoration here by cut-out bands to hold a white inlay; two examples are illustrated, figs. 7, *f* and *g*. Whereas the proportion of cut-out to dotted bands at La Starza is as five to two, exactly the opposite holds for the rest of Campania; of the 123 vessels or sherds with cut-out decoration noted from this region, 92 came from this one site. The sherds are as remarkable for their quality as they are for their quantity; one unusually fine one, part of a large jar of radius 21 cm. in cave 1, bore a running spiral design the bands of which were 3 cm. wide.

Some of the sherds collected represented a much later phase than the fine material from the caves. These were *in situ* in N (a thin stratum with nothing earlier below), sporadic sherds coming from elsewhere on the site. Sharply

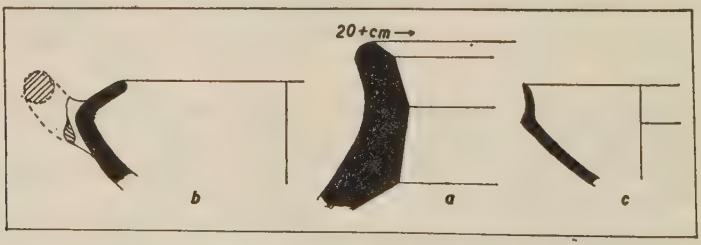


Fig. 8 Late Apennine or Iron Age Ware. Scale 1:3

---

[50] Scoglio del Tonno, 1 at Taranto; Nevigata, 1 in the Pigorini; Punta Manaccora, 1 in the author's possession.

[51] A doubtful one from Nevigata in the Pigorini.

[52] It cannot have been used with the example preserved as the internal radius of the ledge sherd is too large to have been spanned by this funnel.

rectangular-sectioned rim-handles, bowls with rounded shoulder, inturned lip and horizontal handle,[53] very thin, hard, light-coloured carinated bowls, and jars with an internal facet to the lip (fig. 8).[54]

(*f*) *Apulian Geometric Ware*

Two sporadic sherds were of a greenish-buff ware, still hand-made but probably painted on the wheel in dark purple horizontal bands, and a third red sherd was similarly decorated. That illustrated in pl. II, *o* has narrow reserved bands between the painted ones, the others have wider bands. An unpainted sherd of the same ware came from DI. These sherds, poor as they are, are clearly related to the proto-historic painted wares of Apulia.[55]

(*g*) *Stone and Bone*

Quite a number of stone tools and waste flakes were recovered from various parts of the site. Associated with Rinaldone ware in F were the side-scraper, awl, lunate microlith, and perforated pebble of fig. 9, *a–d*, also a fine nucleus subsequently split by fire, another side-scraper, a small ribbon-blade and a large number of odd flakes. The microlith is most unexpected and until further material is found, any comment would be premature. In the same level were a very small obsidian core[56] and three flakes of the same material. From the mixed deposit in DI, which contained predominantly scratched ware sherds (only two were actually so decorated) came the flint and obsidian blades, (figs. 9, *e* and *f*), another of obsidian, and the bone point, (fig. 9, *g*). In the same area was the very neat bifacially-flaked arrow-head, (fig. 9, *h*). Sporadic finds include the flint nucleus, (fig. 9, *i*), the fine scraper, (fig. 9, *j*), and many more flakes.

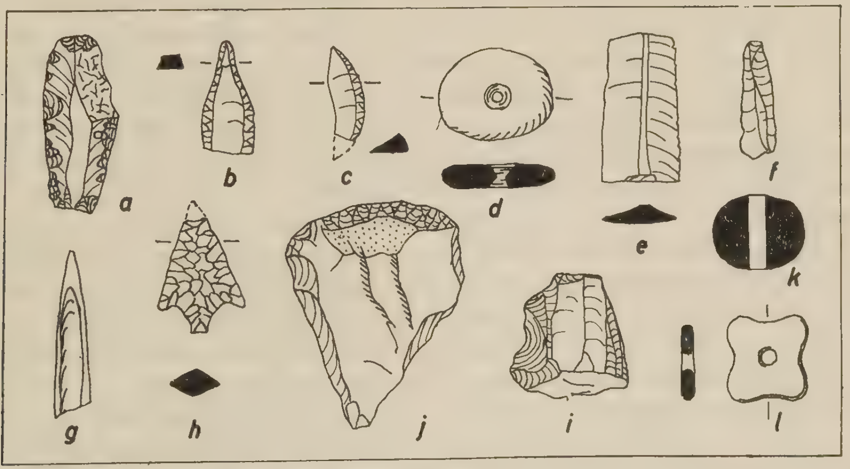


FIG. 9. FLINT, OBSIDIAN AND BONE. Scales: *c* and *k* 1:1; the remainder, 1:2

---

[53] Cf. the well-known bowls used as lids on the early urnfield cineraries at Pianello, Timmari, Milazzo, etc.

[54] The Hart chariot-burial of the South German Urnenfelder in the Prähistorische Staatssammlung, Munich, included these and the bronze bowls which show the metallic origin of the trait.

[55] Prof. Puglisi in conversation suggested that the Apennine sherds mentioned in the last paragraph could possibly be late enough to be associated with this ware.

[56] According to Dr Buchner, all 7 pieces of obsidian from the site were from Lipari sources.

All the above are patently or by inference from the neolithic or eneolithic periods. The objects in figs. 9, *k* and *l*, together with a small rounded pebble of which the edges are polished by its having been used for grinding or burnishing, were found close together, not definitely associated, in cave 1 beside two human ribs and four vertebrae. They are a small terracotta bead and a thin quadrilobate pendant of shale, and suggest a disturbed burial, probably, from the small size of the bones, that of a child.[57] Similar variously-shaped pendants of stone, usually marble, were quite common in the Remedello–Rinaldone tombs, but a later date for this burial, if such it is, is virtually certain, since the material from the cave was all but pure Apennine. The only stone artefact from cave 2 was a quern stone of volcanic lava.

III. STRATIGRAPHY AND CONCLUSIONS

Interesting though the presence of these cultures in a new locality is, the importance of the site is due to the probability of being able here to correlate them one to another stratigraphically. We already have some evidence.

In the west quarry in area G impressed ware sherds can be seen in position and, falling from the inaccessible cliffs above, scratched ware. Pending an examination with the help of appropriate tackle, it seems reasonable to assume that this is a true stratigraphy. In F the rich Rinaldone material showed in sloping tip-lines containing occasional hearths. No impressed ware came from this slope, but many Apennine sherds. The lip was too crumbly to be safely investigated, but again a stratigraphic succession of the two cultures seems certain. In DI a more readily accessible section near the quarry floor was examined with some care. Six strata were distinguished, but a sherd recognisable as part of an Apennine tongue-handle, another identical in ware with the Apulian geometric, and a third clearly wheel-made, all coming from the two lowest levels, showed it to be a disturbed deposit.

In the lip of the north quarry (see pl. I, *b* and *c*) a face of earth stands between two rocks approximately 2 m. apart to a height of some 4 m., of which only the lower part can be reached comfortably. The sherds illustrated in pl. II, *a–h* came from the section itself; a large number derived from it were found on the slope below. Into a light-coloured deposit, itself regularly bedded, to the level of the large bush on the right, a fairly narrow pit was cut against the left hand rock to a point about 80 cm. below the top of the pole (which is marked in 20 cm. lengths). This was filled with dark earth to just above the original surface, above which is a white streak, then light earth gradually darkening into the surface humus. From the light deposit below came the two impressed sherds and the lump of daub. At the very bottom of the dark earth lay the incised sherd, culturally if not technically impressed ware. Higher in the pit fill were the two painted sherds. Shortly above the pole were the two Rinaldone sherds. What lies above remains to be seen.

---

[57] Parts of human mandibles were picked up also in cave 2 and G, the latter of a child with milk molars. Quarrymen gave me the skull, the only part preserved, of a skeleton found complete some four years ago. It is an adult male, length (increased by a very prominent occiput) 191·5 mm., breadth 147·5, index 77·0.

Modest though they are, these results do testify to the existence of stratified deposits containing at least three of the six main wares represented at La Starza. There is every reason to hope that systematic excavation would yield evidence of the relationship of all these ceramic groups.

Pending the excavation that the site so obviously merits, little more need be said. What seems certain is that here we have evidence for a settled community lasting apparently without break from the early Neolithic to the second Iron Age, within striking distance of written history. The archaeological connections have demonstrated that the region in general, by reason of its central position in the southern half of the peninsula, and the site in particular, from its commanding situation on a highway that links the two coasts, was at the hub of the cultural history of the country. To take a single example, we have seen reason to believe that influences from the three regional eneolithic cultures named after the sites of Rinaldone, Gaudo and Andria, perhaps from a fourth not yet defined in the Abruzzi, are all present at La Starza. To define their stratigraphic positions relative to each other, as well as to the preceding Matera ware and even more to the succeeding Apennine Cultures, would immediately clarify one of the obscurest points in Italian prehistory.

D. H. Trump

Note. The author carried out trial excavations on the site at Easter 1957 with the assistance of the Superintendency of Antiquities for Campania, and trenches were cut in the settlements marked 1, 2, 4 and 5 on fig. 2. Pending a full report, it is worth noting the results briefly here.

The trenches in settlements 5 and 2 were disappointing. The first proved to be mostly a wash deposit from above, with its stratigraphy unreliable below the Apennine level. The second had lost by erosion all but a thin skin of earth over the rock, containing fine impressed sherds only. Rich Rinaldone pottery of two periods was recovered from settlement 1 in unmixed deposits. A disturbed layer held a good selection of earlier material, including barbed-and-tanged arrow-heads and sherds of a pattern-burnished ware besides those recorded in the text. The whole was capped by Apennine, then Apulian painted ware levels. The main trench, on the terrace, area O, produced, under a surface level with late painted sherds, a large quantity of Apennine ware associated with built hearths. Several Nevigata handles (see p. 10) were found, and an important range of forms, connecting the elaborate decorated Filottrano handle of the Marche intimately with the South Italian tongue handles.

Neither of the last two trenches reached natural soil. The terrace may yet provide the complete stratigraphy hoped for when work on the site can be resumed.

D. H. T.

APPUNTI SULLA TOPOGRAFIA DI PYRGI

(Plates III–V)

Pyrgi, cittadina etrusca e colonia romana, posta sulle coste del Tirreno fra Roma e Civitavecchia, fu visitata e descritta da molti archeologi e topografi del secolo scorso,[1] ma non é stata oggetto di studi topografici recenti. Queste brevi note vogliono illustrare con maggior precisione alcuni punti fondamentali della sua topografia. La ricerca é stata molto facilitata dall'uso delle fotografie aeree esistenti nella Scuola Britannica, una delle quali ripresa nel maggio 1944 é qui riprodotta (pl. III; cfr. fig. 1, dove indichiamo gli elementi ricavati dalla fotografia o accertati sul terreno e, a trattini, le linee fondamentali della topografia moderna).

Sul luogo di Pyrgi esiste oggi il castello di Santa Severa (pl. IV, *a*) al quale conduce una breve strada che si distacca dall'Aurelia[2] al chilometro 52,550. Un recinto medievale di fortificazione con piccole torri sporgenti, costruito in blocchetti quadrangolari di arenaria, fa capo ad un'alta rocca quadrilatera con torri ai quattro angoli. Separato da essa e collegato solamente con un aereo ponte di legno é il torrione maestro cilindrico, in posizione dominante sulla riva del mare.

Una memoria del martirio di Santa Severa si legge negli Acta Sanctorum 29 gennaio vol. ii, p. 946 sg. dove si hanno le seguenti determinazioni topografiche: *Centumcellae, milliario XXXV ab urbe iuxta mare . . . in loco qui dicitur Pignus.*[3] Il castello é ricordato per la prima volta nel 1068 quando il conte Gerardo de' Normanni lo donó all'abazia di Farfa. Passó poi all'abazia di San Paolo. Dal 1482 é proprietá dell'ospedale di Santo Spirito.

Lo studio di tutto il complesso medievale e rinascimentale esula dallo scopo di queste note limitate alla topografia classica.

Il lato nord-occidentale del castello utilizza un tratto delle mura poligonali dell'antica Pyrgi: il meglio conservato (lunghezza m. 100, altezza m. 3,20 dal piano di campagna).[4] L'opera poligonale termina in alto con un piano orizzontale che deve considerarsi un finale antico (pl. IV, *c*).

Siamo lieti di raccogliere l'invito rivoltoci dal Prof. J. B. Ward Perkins direttore della Scuola Britannica di Roma presentando queste poche pagine sulla topografia di Pyrgi nella rivista che tanto contributo ha dato e dá agli studi topografici della Campagna Romana. Ci é sembrato utile pubblicare queste note, nonostante la nuova luce che scenderá su Pyrgi in seguito agli scavi intrapresi dalla Soprintendenza dell'Etruria Meridionale e dall'Istituto di Etruscologia dell'Universitá di Roma, perché molte cose da noi viste sono oggi scomparse.

[1] Su Pyrgi vedasi: L. Canina, 'Pyrgi degli Agillei e Ceriti,' *Annali Inst.*, xii, 1841, p. 34 sgg.; *L'antica Etruria Marittima*, Roma, 1846, p. 165 sgg., Tav. XLIII; W. Abeken, *Mittelitalien*, Stuttgart, 1843, p. 138; W. Gell, *Topography of Rome and its vicinity*, Londra, 1846, p. 368 sg.; A. Nibby, *Analisi*,^{2} iii, Roma, 1849, p. 91 sgg.; G. Dennis, *Cities and cemeteries of Etruria*,^{3} London, 1883, i, p. 289 sgg.; A. Guglielmotti, *Storia delle fortificazioni della spiaggia romana*, Roma, 1880, p. 503 sgg.; R. Fonteanive, *Sui munimenti ed altre costruzioni poligonie*, Roma, 1887, p. 47 sgg.; G. Tomassetti, *Campagna Romana*, ii, Roma, 1907, p. 542; *CIL*, xi, p. 546.

[2] Né dalla fotografia aerea, né dall'esame sul terreno si ricavano elementi per determinare il tracciato antico dell'Aurelia. A torto D. Anziani, *Mél. Ec. Franç.*, xxxiii, 1913, p. 184, credette di poterlo stabilire in base a un ponticello ancora oggi in parte esistente presso le rive del mare a 115 metri fuori del lato sud-est delle mura di Pyrgi. Lo abbiamo osservato attentamente: le spalle e la volta sono formate con antichi conci di tufo congiunti peró con malta moderna.

[3] Secondo molti autori Pignus é una corruzione per Pyrgi, vedasi peró Tomassetti, ii, p. 542.

[4] Questo piano non si mantiene tuttavia sempre uniforme, ma scende rapidamente sulla spiaggia dove di conseguenza il muro doveva risultare piú alto.

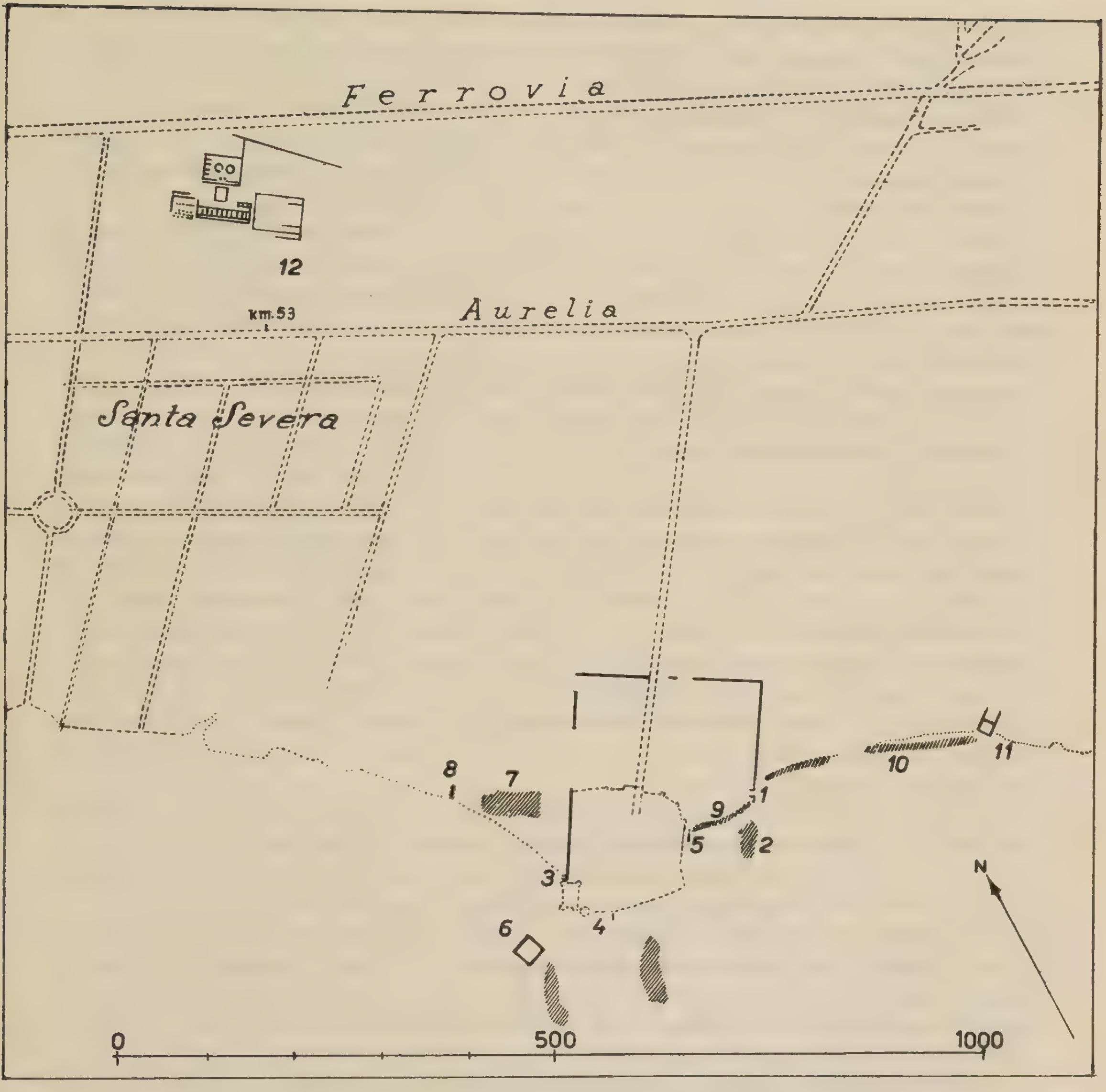


FIG. 1. PYRGI (SANTA SEVERA); VEDI FOTOGRAFIA AEREA (PL. III)

Quantunque l'opera antica sia stata intaccata da alcune porte e finestre moderne e tra i giunti sconnessi si presentino inzaffature di malta recente, tuttavia valgono le seguenti osservazioni dedotte anche da altri tratti del recinto. Il muro doveva essere costruito senza malta (come si vede ovunque si mostri in sezione) con l'impiego di grandi blocchi di arenaria.[5] Lo spessore varia all'incirca tra i 2,50 e i 3 metri.

---

[5] Solo in pochi punti dell'interno del muro abbiamo notato l'impiego di blocchi di calcare. I blocchi esterni sono tutti di arenaria a taglio tabulare collocati in opera contro falda. La facilitá al taglio ha favorito la perfezione dei piani e dei giunti di combaciamento. Il materiale si trova anche nelle immediate vicinanze, per esempio nella collina in vocabolo 'La Torretta' a meno di un chilometro a sud-est del castello dove esistono anche cave recenti.

La faccia esterna levigata poteva essere, in antico, perfettamente verticale, al contrario dell'interna lasciata grezza e rastremata verso l'alto per cui lo spessore diminuisce dal piede alla sommitá.

Il tratto ora esaminato termina lá dove il Canina seguito dal Dennis indica una porta; tuttavia dall'esame degli ultimi due grandi blocchi di arenaria non si ricava nessun elemento riferibile a porta (pl. IV, *b*). Un saggio forse potrebbe fornire elementi conclusivi.

Per il resto le mura sono visibili in alcuni tratti dove emergono dal suolo al massimo per un filare e raramente presentano lo spessore completo. La loro distruzione si deve con ogni probabilitá alla mano dell'uomo: furono forse i costruttori del castello medievale che ridussero in blocchetti di pochi centimetri i massi ciclopici.

La fotografia aerea mostra con evidenza il tracciato completo di tre lati delle mura e il grafico precisa quali sono i tratti conservati sopra terra.

Sul lato orientale a pochissimi metri dalla spiaggia é notevolmente conservata una porta (fig. 1,1), larga circa m. 3,50 composta della apertura nello spessore delle mura e da due guance interne lunghe almeno 2.90 e distanti fra loro circa 4 metri. Il piano della porta é circa due metri inferiore al piano di campagna.[6] Oltre la porta, le mura s'interrompono sul ciglio corroso dal mare. Il Canina e il Dennis suppongono che questo lato continui, evidentemente ammettendo una variazione della linea costiera. Con ció la cittá avrebbe avuto una pianta rettangolare. In realtá sul prolungamento di questo braccio delle mura sono visibili nel mare e sulla spiaggia opere in calcestruzzo riferibili a impianti marittimi (pl. V, *d*; fig. 1,2). Questo dato di fatto esclude un'alterazione della costa e perció la ricostruzione supposta dal Canina. Per il quarto lato, quello parallelo alla costa, manca qualsiasi documentazione archeologica.

Sui lati occidentale e settentrionale non si sa se e dove fossero le porte. Sarebbe interessante tentare una ricerca verso il punto centrale del lato nord.

Abbiamo notato due restauri antichi alle mura; uno in piccoli blocchi e malta nel lato occidentale e uno in opera incerta presso l'angolo orientale.

Il perimetro della cittá é calcolato erroneamente sia dal Canina che dall'Abeken e dal Dennis i quali danno tutti misure diverse. Le nostre misure sono ricavate dalla fotografia aerea: lato occidentale dall'angolo alla fortezza, m. 245 (ma le mura potrebbero prolungarsi entro le fondazioni della fortezza); lato verso terra, m. 220; lato orientale, dall'angolo all'asse della porta m. 140 circa.

Presso la fortezza, addossati perpendicolarmente alla faccia esterna delle mura, rimangono ancora oggi due dei tre muretti (fig. 1,3) fra loro paralleli segnati nella pianta del Canina. Essi sono costruiti in rozza opera reticolata di calcare e arenaria.

Ai piedi del castello, sul lato che guarda il mare, la violenza della risacca ha scavato in parte il terrapieno entro la base residua di una torre quadrata ed ha messo in evidenza una fila di parallelepipedi di tufo sormontata da opera reticolata (fig. 1,4).

---

[6] Questa quota risulta con approssimazione per la presenza di tre fogne che dovevano correre sotto la soglia della porta.

Sul lato occidentale della cinta medievale un altro tratto di muro in opera quadrata di tufo a leggero bugnato e di lavorazione molto accurata é oggi visibile per la caduta di una piccola parte di fortificazione secentesca (fig. 1,5; pl. IV, *d*).

Il Canina seguito dal Dennis suppone un porto con moli a tenaglia e antemurale centrale. In realtá si vede sporgere di poco dall'acqua una piccola costruzione quadrilatera in calcestruzzo davanti la rocca[7] (fig. 1,6; pl. V, *e*), e sulla stessa linea si protende sotto il livello del mare un ammasso allungato di pietre che potrebbe essere il residuo di un molo.

Un altro simile ammasso é disposto quasi parallelo alla distanza di un centinaio di metri verso sud-est.

Fuori del lato occidentale delle mura rimangono le tracce di un vasto edificio (fig. 1,7). Esso risulta sopraelevato sulla quota normale di campagna ed é orientato secondo gli assi della cittá. I pochi muri visibili in alzato sono costruiti in opera mista di reticolato e mattoni. E' difficile stabilire l'attribuzione dell'edificio (villa?). Scarsi resti di costruzioni con pavimento di cocciopisto e spicato sono piú ad ovest (fig. 1,8).

I resti che abbiamo fin qui descritto sono da attribuirsi all'etá romana. E' stato dimostrato dalle esplorazioni condotte dal Savignoni e dal Mengarelli a Norba e da studi successivi in altre cittá, che le grandi fortificazioni in opera poligonale dell'Italia centrale vanno riferite non giá ad epoca antichissima ma all'etá della colonizzazione romana (IV–III sec. a.C.).[8] Un esempio datato (273 av.Cr.) che offre caratteristiche costruttive simili é quello di Cosa.[9] Anche la pianta a perimetro ortogonale, confrontabile con quelle di Ostia, di Fondi ecc., é tipica delle colonie romane; e la modesta superficie della cittá corrisponde alle limitate esigenze di una colonia marittima.

Si conclude perció che non é questa la cittá etrusca,[10] porto di Caere, sede di un celebre tempio di Ilizia, ma invece la colonia romana. Purtroppo non conosciamo l'anno della fondazione della colonia. Essa é ricordata comunque nel 191 av.Cr.[11] e non é improbabile che la fondazione sia avvenuta nel III secolo.[12]

Al periodo etrusco vanno riferiti gli elementi che giacciono in strati inferiori consistenti in muri di tufo vulcanico tagliato in opera quadrata e in muri di ciottoli. Questa stratigrafia appare in modo estremamente chiaro nella fronte del terreno soprastante la spiaggia tra il castello e il braccio orientale delle mura (fig. 1,9).

In modo particolare poi appartengono al periodo etrusco gli avanzi che si estendono ad oriente della cittá. Percorrendo la stretta spiaggia, si nota, lungo la ripa corrosa dalle onde, una serie continua di muri variamente orientati che si addentrano nel terreno e di anno in anno sono scoperti e distrutti dalle mareggiate (fig. 1,10). Sono in genere fondazioni di edifici fra le quali appaiono alcune fognature. Alcuni sono formati di grossi ciottoli, altri sono invece costruiti in blocchi squadrati di tufo vulcanico (pl. V, *b*). Questi ci hanno richiamato alla mente le tipiche fondazioni dei templi italici. Diamo una fotografia presa nell'estate del '55 (pl. V, *a*), in cui alcuni di questi muri si presentano in miglior stato di conservazione che non oggi.[13] Proprio vicino a questi muri nell'agosto del '56, durante una gita[14] abbiamo raccolto un frammento di rivestimento fittile decorato con palmette affrontate (pl. III, *b* (e)).

---

[7] Questa costruzione é meglio visibile nella fotografia 5 CM 718, 4074.

[8] Cf. G. Lugli, 'Le fortificazioni delle antiche cittá italiche, *Rend. Lincei*, *s.* 8, ii, 1947, p. 294 sgg.

[9] F. E. Brown, 'Cosa,' *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, xx, 1951, p. 105.

[10] Strabo V, p. 226; Diod. Sic. XV, 14, 3 sgg.; cfr. Verg. *Aen.* X, 184; Serv. ad. l.

[11] Liv. XXXVI, 3, 6.

[12] E. T. Salmon, *Phoenix*, x, 1955, p. 66.

Tra questi muri i piú orientali si collegano nella fotografia aerea con le evidenti tracce di un edificio (fig. 1, 11) che si spinge dalla spiaggia notevolmente verso l'interno.[15]

La modestissima collina in vocabolo 'La Torretta' ad oriente della zona descritta fuori del quadro della pl. III presenta nella fotografia aerea macchie chiare dovute all'arenaria affiorante, non a tracce di antichitá. Piú a nord tra l'Aurelia e la stazione ferroviaria dove sulla tavoletta 143 III S.O. é scritto 'Ruderi' si osservano sul terreno un grosso nucleo cementicio foderato in parte con signinum, basoli di arenaria e mattoni sparsi.

Tra la via Aurelia (al chilometro 53) e la ferrovia la fotografia aerea rivela la pianta di una vasta villa (fig. 1, 12; vedi anche fig. 2).

Sul terreno erano visibili, ancora in posto nel 1954, quantunque disfatti e informi, molti residui di murature in opera incerta grossolana di arenaria e ciottoli; altri frammenti di muratura erano stati ammucchiati in macere durante lavori agricoli. Tuttavia il sopraluogo sul terreno non offriva giá allora la maniera di interpretare la pianta.

Il complesso si svolge per una lunghezza di 150 metri sulla fronte e una profonditá di oltre 100 metri.

Si ha, da destra, un recinto rettangolare (*a*) di m. 54 × 39. Segue nella stessa direzione, una fila (lunghezza m. 62) di piccoli ambienti connessi ad un corridoio o portico (*b*). Molto incerte le tracce ancora piú ad ovest. Dietro la fila di piccoli ambienti sono chiaramente individuabili oltre ad un recinto rettangolare di m. 18 × 15 anche tre piccoli ambienti allineati e contigui (*c*).

Rimane infine di parlare della costruzione piú settentrionale (*d*). Il perimetro é di m. 45 × 32. Su uno dei lati lunghi vi é o un corridoio o un portico. Sul lato breve una fila di ambienti che probabilmente si affacciano sull'area centrale. Due macchie scure nella fotografia, rivelano forse l'esistenza di due bacini circolari.

La villa era probabilmente circondata da una recinzione (*e*).

Giacciono sul terreno oltre a molti frammenti di pavimenti a mosaico a piccole tessere di calcare bianco, anche frammenti di grandi dolii, rocchi di colonne di travertino e blocchi angolari ben lavorati a squadra.

Abbiamo raccolto sul luogo alcune terracotte architettoniche di tipo Campana (pl. III, *b*). Il materiale ci orienta verso una possibile datazione alla fine della Repubblica o al principio dell'Impero. Questa grande villa rustica (tale sembra infatti il suo carattere) é un documento interessante della trasformazione agraria di questa zona, che viene testimoniata per gli ultimi tempi dell'Impero da Rutilio Namaziano (223 e sg.) : *Alsia praelegitur tellus, Pyrgique recedunt, / nunc villae grandes, oppida parva prius.*

---

[13] I tre filari di blocchi sovrapposti appartengono a due muri distinti che nella fotografia si sono sovrapposti per effetto di prospettiva.

[14] In compagnia della Signorina Bertha Tilly, dei Signori MacKendrick, Baade e Neuerburg.

[15] In questi giorni (Settembre 1956) sono stati scoperti in questa zona frammenti di terracotte templari etrusche (ora al Museo di Villa Giulia in Roma).

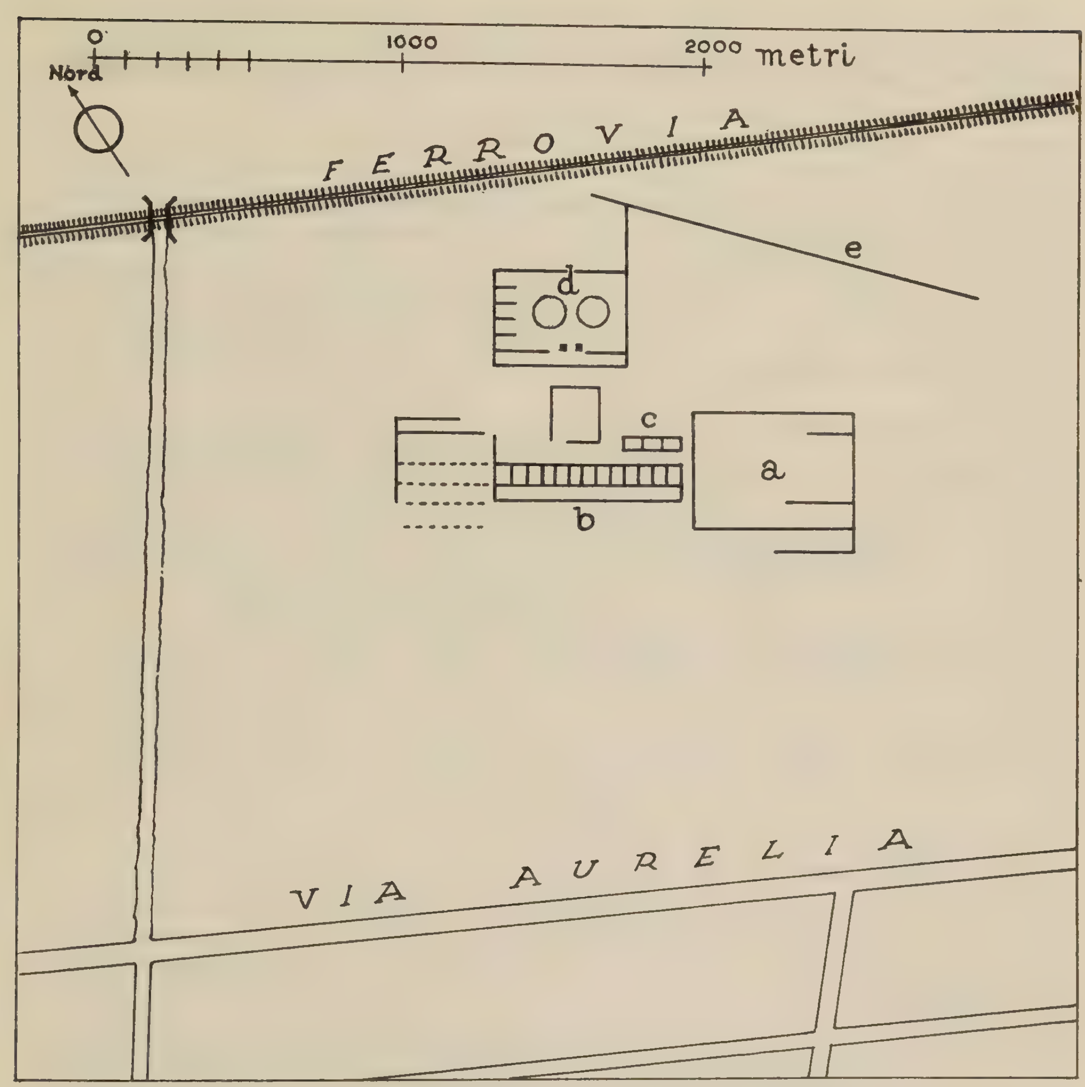


FIG. 2. VILLA ROMANA TRA LA VIA AURELIA E LA FERROVIA

Quando siamo tornati sul posto nel 1956, rimaneva un solo muro in alzato.[16] I resti che affioravano nella estate del 1954 non esistevano piú—con le macere si era colmata l'ansa di un canale di scolo e su tutta l'area della villa la seminatrice a motore preparava la nuova maggese.

F. CASTAGNOLI and L. COZZA

---

[16] Esso appartiene all'angolo nord dell'edificio d.

THE VIA VALERIA FROM TIVOLI TO COLLARMELE[1]

(Plates VI–X)

The Via Valeria is the central section of the great highway which in antiquity connected Rome with the Adriatic coast at Ostia Aterni (now Pescara). The first section, the Via Tiburtina, has been described by Thomas Ashby with his usual thoroughness (*PBSR*, iii, 1906, p. 84 ff.).[2] The third section, the Via Claudia Valeria (Collarmele-Pescara) has been dealt with in more summary fashion by Robert Gardner (*PBSR*, ix, 1920, p. 75 ff.). The central section has never been described.[3]

The present paper does not intend to compete with Ashby's monumental achievement, the result of a life-time dedicated to work on the ground and in archives. It is intended only to present a straight-forward account of the surviving remains, based on personal survey over the whole length of the section discussed. I have also added extracts from Ashby's and Miss Van Deman's works on the Roman aqueducts giving the modern numbering of the road, for the use of those who wish to check them; I myself had no opportunity to do so.

The reconstruction of the course of this ancient road is very instructive as regards the behaviour of modern and earlier traffic systems, the more so since the railway everywhere accompanies it. A section along the Via Valeria Antica would show it as a series of steps. The first comprises the Via Tiburtina just before reaching Tivoli : here the ancient road runs nearly straight on,[4] the modern Via Tiburtina Valeria climbs with hair-pin bends, the railway leaves to the left at Bagni and reaches Tivoli with a big loop, running not far from the hill that carries Montecelio. The second step is at Àrsoli : again the ancient road runs almost straight on along the valley nearly into the town, reaching it by a very steep course; the modern road makes many loops, often at some distance from the ancient track, whereas the railway follows a line as straight as possible, but begins its ascent from the station of Mandela onward. The third and last step is that of the Passo di Monte Bove. Once again the Valeria Antica keeps at a low level until a short distance before Colli di Monte Bove, climbing steeply along a straight line towards the crest, which it crosses at a level even higher than the present road (m.1.220); the railway begins to climb immediately after the station of Carsòli, passes in a nearly straight line somewhat below Colli, reaching a tunnel at about 800 m. above sea-level and crossing the Monte Bove in a direction completely independent of the other traffic, in the direction of Sante Marie. The Tiburtina Valeria too begins to climb a little beyond Carsòli, rising afterwards with large loops which every now and then cross the railway; at some distance before and beyond Colli it is intersected by the straight ancient road. They leave each other at the *valico*, the modern road making a curve of some kilometres before rejoining the ancient one, and continuing in the same manner after having crossed it. The Valeria Antica continues in a nearly straight line, Passo di M. Bove—Roccacerro—Tagliacozzo, descending twice very steeply, e.g. within Tagliacozzo Alta. They meet in Tagliacozzo Bassa, but, having passed the railway Tagliacozzo-Avezzano, they part, the Antica going straight across the hills by way of Sorbo, Scurcola and Alba Fucens, towards Collarmele, whereas the modern road and the railway go around these hills maintaining the same level, and deviate afterwards towards Avezzano.

---

[1] I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Mr. J. B. Ward Perkins for much kind help in preparing this article for the press.

[2] He appears to have overlooked that the quaint theory he criticises, p. 108 ff., had already been formulated by C. Promis (*Le Antichità di Alba Fucense*, 1836, p. 26 ff.) and A. Nibby (*Analisi dei Dintorni di Roma* iii², p. 639). The main argument against it is that the course there described is much more subject to inundations than the present one, as is easily seen on the ground; it runs at a lower level. The present road runs along the crest of a slight hill, as ancient roads ordinarily do, if possible.

[3] Gardner (*op. cit.*, p. 75, no. i) says that the central section would appear in a following number of the *Papers of the British School*, but it does not, in fact, seem to have been published, nor is there any record of a manuscript.

[4] Cf. the map *PBSR*, iii, 1906, pl. II at the end of the volume.

In the description that follows the following abbreviations will be used, followed in each case by the page-references.

Ashby = Th. Ashby, *Roman Aqueducts.*
Ashby–Pfeiffer = Th. Ashby and R. Pfeiffer, *Suppl. Papers American School*, i, 1905.
Baedeker = K. Baedeker, *Central Italy and Rome*, 1909.
Nibby, *Anal.* = A. Nibby, *Analisi dei Dintorni di Roma*, 2nd ed., 1848.
Nibby, *Viag.* = A. Nibby, *Viaggio Antiquario ne' Dintorni di Roma*, 1819.
Not. Sc. = *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità.*
Promis = C. Promis, *Le Antichità di Alba Fucense negli Equi*, 1836.
P.-W. = C. Pauly–G. Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft.*
TCI = *Touring Club Italiano, Guide.*
Van Deman = E. B. Van Deman, *Building of the Roman Aqueducts*, 1934.

DESCRIPTION[5]

The Via Tiburtina enters Tivoli along the line described in *PBSR*, iii, p. 150, and crosses the city[6] as the present very steep Via del Colle, debouching into the Piazza Rivarola, and continuing along the Via Ponte San Gregorio, until the point where, on the other bank of the Aniene there are the ruins of a Roman bridge of two periods,[7] the older one in *opus prae-reticulatum*, the other in *opus reticulatum* of polychrome type. Before it there is the inscription *Inscr. Ital.* IV, 1 (*Tibur*), no. 85, and in the nearby park the inscriptions *ibid.*, nos. 56; 128; 251; 378.

Km. 33,0 approx. Not far from here, up-stream, a little before the railway station, can be seen the tomb of the Vestal Virgin Cossinia (early third century A.D.), discovered in 1929[8] (admission through the Trattoria Roscia, just in front of the station), belonging to a *sepulcretum* of which some traces are still visible; other parts of it have been excavated on several occasions.[9] Below it, in the bed of the river, but now invisible, there are traces of a Roman bridge,[10] which Promis[11]

---

[5] Summary descriptions of the Via Valeria are to be found Nibby, *Viag.*, p. 189 ff.; Promis, p. 41 ff.; Nibby, *Anal.*, iii, p. 643–644; Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionn. des Antiq.*, *s.v.* Via, 796, *a*, with no. 4.

[6] Cf. the plans *TCI*, *Roma e Dintorni*, 1946, pl. pp. 576–577; P.-W., *s.v. Tibur*, 837–838; *Inscr. Ital.* I, i, *Tibur*, tab. II.

[7] Cf. the map in *Inscr. Ital.*

[8] *Not. Sc.* ser. 6, vi, 1930, p. 353 ff. Cf. the map in *Inscr. Ital.*

[9] See the bibliography cited in *Not. Sc.*, *loc. cit.*

[10] Indicated on the map in *TCI*, *loc. cit.*

[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 41. According to him the remains in front of the Piazza Rivarola are those of an aqueduct.

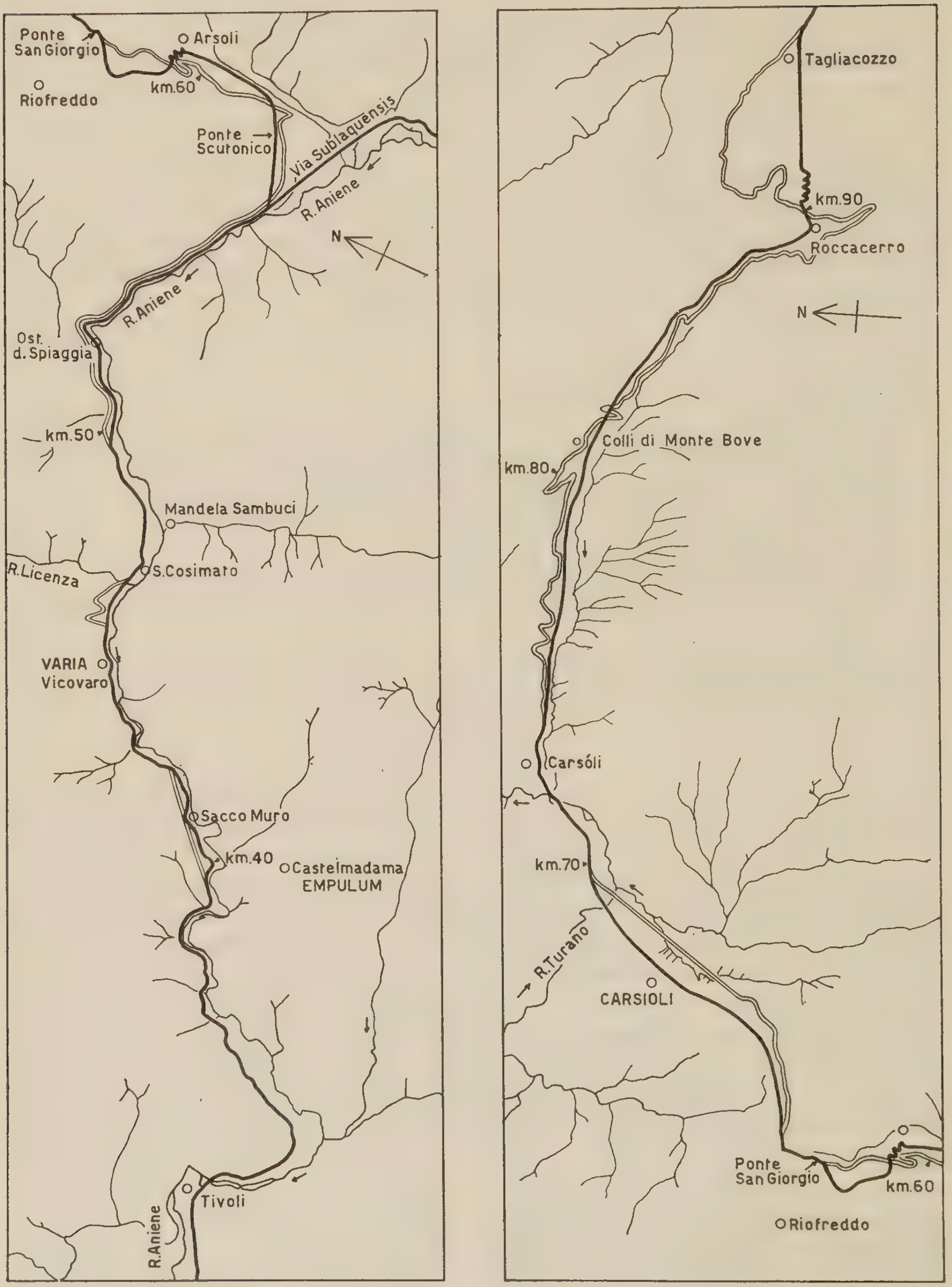


Fig. 1. The Via Valeria from Tivoli to Tagliacozzo

took to be the bridge of the Via Valeria, a view rightly abandoned now; it is indeed improbable on account of the general topography of the area.[12]

Km. 33,9 approx. On the far bank of the river, just south-east of the Campo Santo, remains of the Aqua Marcia (Ashby, pl. 5; Van Deman, p. 86).

Km. 34,1–2. On the far bank, the Valle degli Arci. Scanty remains of the bridge that carried the Anio Vetus (Van Deman, pp. 38–39 with fig. 4; Ashby, p. 61 and fig. 1). A high bridge carried the Aqua Marcia, its broken remains still visible (Van Deman, p. 71; Ashby, pp. 109–110, pl. III, *a*; Baedeker, map pp. 476–477). A short distance above the Fosso degli Arci remains of the Anio Novus, 90 m. long (Van Deman, p. 297; Ashby, pp. 273–274). The bridge over the stream has wholly disappeared.

Km. 34,5–6 = signal-box 41.556.[13]

Km. 34,6 approx. At the south-west end of the Colle Monitola the channel of the Aqua Marcia is traceable for over 40 m. (Van Deman, p. 84; Ashby, pp. 108–109, pl. 6).

Km. 35–6. The conduit of the Anio Vetus is visible along the foot of the Colle Monitola and, further on, on the north-east slope of the Monte Papese, near a small house called 'Casetta Bianca' (no small white house to be seen now; cf. Van Deman, pp. 33, 36; Ashby, p. 60; Baedeker, *loc. cit.*). Of the Aqua Marcia, too, a considerable group of remains mark the course (Van Deman, p. 71; Ashby, p. 107).

Km. 36,7. Railway station of San Polo de' Cavalieri. On the far bank of the Aniene there is a shaft of the Anio Vetus and a pointed roof of the Aqua Marcia, traceable for about 500 m. (Van Deman, p. 83: Marcia, not Anio Vetus; Ashby, p. 108; pl. 6).

Km. 37–8. The conduit of the Anio Vetus again visible to the north and the west of Monte Papese. The same applies to the Marcia, especially on the north-west slope in the garden of a house beneath the path (Van Deman, p. 82; Ashby, p. 60). Further to the south-west other traces below a row of peasant huts (Van Deman, p. 83).

Km. 37,1. A track leaving towards the south descends into the valley. It looks at first sight like a remnant of the Valeria Antica, but it ends near a quarry and the conformation of the ground makes it clear that this hypothesis cannot be true.

Km. 38,6 = signal-box 45.384 (Van Deman 45.952). Near this point lies the Ponte (Fiume) Rotto, of which nothing is to be seen owing to the vegetation (cf. Ashby, pl. 6, above 224 red). It carried the Valeria Antica across a *fosso* and around a hill through which the modern road is carried in a cutting. On the left bank a considerable stretch of the original channel of the Aqua Claudia is to be seen (Van Deman, p. 211; Ashby, p. 207). Near a peasant's hut farther on along the slope, just before the new dam at Ponte Rotto, another fine section of the channel cut by a farm road leading into a quarry. Down-stream from the dam, high up in the slope, above the footpath, other remains, mostly concealed by thick bushes.

---

[12] See the plan in P.-W., *loc. cit.* The bridge near the station is called here Ponte dei Sepolcri.

[13] Because Ashby and Van Deman frequently use references to signal-boxes (*caselli ferroviari*) I have mentioned them also when necessary.

Km. 39,4. North of the present road, fragment of an ancient tomb (?) incorporated into a house. Possibly only the lower part is antique, and the upper part medieval.

Km. 39,5. To the north the nucleus in concrete of another tomb, in a garden.

Km. 40,0 approx. On the left bank, below Castel Madama, near the bridge near Fonte Luca (see Ashby, pl. 6, near 226 red), the valley is crossed by a well-preserved bridge of the Claudia (Van Deman, p. 209; pl. XXXV, 1–2; Ashby, p. 207 and fig. 19). There are also broken remains of a buttressed bridge of the Anio Novus (Van Deman, pp. 286; 287, fig. 38). The Anio Novus at this point leaves the route followed by the other aqueducts and makes off southwards towards the Valle degli Arci. The hillside channel of the Anio Vetus made its way round the hill of Castel Madama (Van Deman, p. 36; Ashby, p. 60); also traces of the Marcia (Van Deman, p. 71; Ashby, p. 107).

Km. 40,1 approx. On the left bank, at the first turn in the road from the station to the town, along the Scorciatoia della Stazione, there is a stretch of the hillside channel of the Anio Novus (Van Deman, p. 286).

Km. 40,2. Below the Valeria Nuova, at the left side of the modern road towards the town, there is a stretch of supporting wall of the Valeria Antica (pl. VI, *a*), built in the header-and-stretcher technique, and probably belonging to the original construction of about 300 B.C. (cf. P.-W., *s.v.* Valerius Maximus, no. 244, col. 121, 63 ff.).

Km. 40,6. On the far bank of the Anio, just east of Castel Madama and beyond the station of that city (which is situated on a road that probably represents a piece of the Valeria Antica), there are, in the valley of the Noce, a few remains of the Marcia below the bridge of the Claudia (Van Deman, p. 81; Ashby, p. 106; Baedeker, *loc. cit.*). The bridge of the Claudia is 135 m. long (Van Deman, pp. 207, 262; pl. XXXIV: Severan restoration; Ashby, pp. 205–206 and fig. 18). A little beyond the valley of the Fosso della Noce the Anio Novus crosses the Claudia and is borne across the valley on a bridge longer and taller than that of the Claudia (Van Deman, p. 285; pl. XXXIV; Ashby, pp. 205–206, fig. 18; 265). In the neighbourhood there also survive other extensive remains of the Claudia, 190–200 m. long (Van Deman, pp. 205, 262; pls. XXXIII, XLII, 1–2; Ashby, p. 205), and part of the channel of the Anio Novus (Van Deman, p. 284).

Km. 40,8. Ruins of a medieval castle called Sacco Muro (or Saccomuro), with the signal-box 47.484. Castel Madama is perhaps the ancient Empulum; beyond it runs the Via Empolitana, with the ruins of Saxula (Ashby, pl. 6; cf. Nibby, *Anal. s.vv.* Castel Madama and Empulum; the two centres were certainly closely connected with one another). In the valley of the Fosso Vallana (or Maiuro), opposite Sacco Muro, there is a small but important bridge of the Aqua Marcia (Van Deman, p. 80; Ashby, p. 106 and fig. 9).

Km. 41,1. The Valeria Nuova leaves the Antica to its right. The ancient road descends into the valley and makes a curve beneath the railway, just before a tunnel;

it turns around a rock, through which the modern road has been cut (Ashby, pl. 6 = military map made in 1876 and checked in 1906, still shows the ancient situation).

Km. 41,2. To the north of the modern road a fragment of a tomb in reticulate.

Km. 41,7–8. Again to the north, the construction of the modern road has cut through two cisterns (?).

Km. 42,0. Valeria Antica and Nuova unite again.

Km. 42,0–44,0. Everywhere there are traces of the Aqua Marcia higher up the left bank of the Anio, on the hills north of Castel Madama (Van Deman, p. 71; Ashby, pp. 203–204).

Km. 42,2–3. Just before the tomb of Maenius Bassus the remains in concrete of two tombs.

Km. 42,3. Funeral monument (restored and completed) of C. Maenius C.f. Cam. Bassus, who was *aedilis*, *IIII-uir*, *magister Herculaneus et Augustalis* and *praefectus fabrum* (CIL XIV, 3665; *Inscr. Ital.* I, i, *Tibur.*, no. 193, with photo; C. Maenius not in P.-W., not even in the Supplements). The tomb (for its position cf. Ashby, pl. 6, east of 230 red) consists of a moulded podium, upon which rest three steps carrying a curious superstructure. Two curved and fluted elements flank the surface for the inscription; they are decorated with Medusa heads in relief, and support a moulded plate crowned by some formless stones (base of a statue?). On account of the title *Augustalis* the date is post-Augustan, but not much; the style of the Medusas is somewhat picturesque, indicating a date under Gaius, or at latest the early years of Claudius.[14]

Opposite the tomb there are remains of the Anio Vetus about 10 m. above the river, e.g. near a farmer's house built on top of the Claudia; below the bridges of the Claudia and the Anio Novus there are remains of the Marcia, a smaller bridge with a single low arch (Van Deman, p. 80; Ashby, p. 106). The Claudia crosses on a bridge showing repeated restorations (Van Deman, pp. 203–204; Ashby, p. 203, with n. 5), just north of the Fosso Sabetta (Van Deman, p. 263). Some 40 m. upstream from the bridge of the Claudia there are remains of a bridge of the Anio Novus of considerable height, almost lost in a thicket of bushes (Van Deman, pp. 283–284; Ashby, p. 264).

Km. 43,0 approx. Near the Fosso Salone, some distance to the west, a little beyond a small farmer's house, in a field below the path, there is an important stretch of the original channel of the Claudia, below which has been added a supporting wall with buttresses (Van Deman, pp. 201–202; 202, fig. 25; 259; Ashby, p. 203).

Km. 44,0 approx. Near the station of Vicovaro is the Fosso le Giunte, of doubtful antiquity, where the Anio Vetus passes underneath (Van Deman, p. 32; 35, fig. 3; Ashby, p. 59; Baedeker, *loc. cit.*). Further down-stream the conduit is clearly visible a few metres above the waterline (Van Deman, p. 34; 35, fig. 3). Below the railway the remains exist, though lost in briars, of a most interesting underground channel of the Aqua Marcia with a crude type of vaulted roof (Van Deman, p. 80;

---

[14] This is in perfect harmony with the life of M. Silanus M. f. who appears also in the inscription: he was cos. A.D. 19 and procos. Africae in the period A.D. 35–40 mentioned in the text of the inscription.

Ashby, p. 105). Near the same point, where the path crosses, two interesting pieces of the Claudia are to be seen (Van Deman, p. 201). In the upper bank of the Fosso le Giunte a heavy retaining wall indicates the presence of the Anio Novus, and a few metres farther up-stream is the channel itself with a line of buttresses (Van Deman, p. 282; pl. XLVI, 2; Ashby, p. 263). Behind the station the channel of the Claudia has been brought to light. Above this another broken section of the channel of the Anio Novus, choked with dirt, is to be seen (Van Deman, p. 282; Ashby, pp. 262–263).

Km. 44,5. In the bridge below Vicovaro (Van Deman, p. 197, fig. 24; Ashby, p. 201, and fig. 17) where, at least in the period of Hadrian, the original line of the Claudia crossed the river, its remains are incorporated in the modern road-bridge. Near its lower end some remains of the Anio Novus (Van Deman, p. 280; Ashby, p. 263) : much has been destroyed in building the new conduit.

Km. 44,6–7 approx. At a point m. 35 above the road-bridge there was the intake of the Anio Vetus, south-east of Vicovaro at the curve of the river (Van Deman, p. 32; Ashby, p. 58). Nothing is now visible on the left bank (Van Deman, p. 34). Here the Aqua Marcia joined the Anio Vetus, and went on together with this pioneer aqueduct, though a little higher up the bank.

On the south side of the road leading up from the road-bridge to the town a rustic church in Renaissance style has a portico built with columns which are probably ancient *spolia*, but which have Renaissance capitals; they are of the Tuscan order and curiously inspired by ancient art (Severan epoch) : echinus with big eggs and richly decorated. An *opus quadratum* sustaining wall has been incorporated in the back part of the church. I do not believe, as some do (Nibby, *Anal.*, *s.v.* Vicovaro) that this forms part of a second city wall, but that it belonged to the original Via Valeria of about 300 B.C., which, as it approached the city, did not take the curve of the present road, but went straight on down into the valley, and exists as a suburban street (cf. Ashby, pl. 7).

Km. 45,0. Vicovaro (*Varia* or *Vicus Variae*). Parts of the city wall in headers and stretchers still exist above the modern highway; they too belong to the end of the fourth century B.C., as the city was an outpost in the direction of the territory of the Marsi and the Aequi (cf. Nibby, *Anal.*, *loc. cit.*; P.-W., *s.v.* Varia, 1), then only recently subdued.

Km. 45,2. Again the Valeria Nuova leaves the Antica (pl. VI, *b* and *c*), which descends to the right into the valley in order to avoid too large a bridge over the ravine. The modern engineer has preferred a longer bridge, maintaining the general level, but making the distance much longer. The original track is clearly visible and is still used by the peasants (Ashby, pl. 7, near 232, *bis* red).

Km. 46,0 approx. After having passed through a short tunnel in the hillside the Marcia turned to the south and crossed to the left bank of the river by a bridge, some remains of which still exist (Van Deman, pp. 71, 79; pl. XVI, 2; Ashby, p. 104; fig. 8; pl. 7, at the spot III, 32).

Km. 46,2 of the modern road. Road leading off towards the north : 7 km. to Horace's villa near Licenza; 21 km. to Orvinio; *c.* 40 km. to the Via Salaria near Monteleone Sabina; 55 km. to Rieti.

Km. 47,1. Just before the Benedictine convent of San Cosimato the Valeria Nuova joins the Antica. At this point there are traces of a row of ancient tombs in *opus reticulatum*; a little bit towards the west, on the Valeria Antica, the nucleus in concrete of another tomb.

Km. 47,4. A path leaves towards the south, turning back towards the electric power dam below S. Cosimato; along it interesting remains of aqueducts can be seen.

Km. 47,5 approx. Below the river Licenza the Aqua Marcia made its way along the right bank to the gorge below S. Cosimato; its line is now almost flooded by the river, the level of which is here raised by a dam (Van Deman, p. 71, 76; pl. XVI, 1; Ashby, p. 101; Baedeker, map 476–477). At the east end of the tunnel underneath S. Cosimato the railway cuts the line of the conduit of the Aqua Claudia (Van Deman, p. 194). Just before the gorge, high up in the wooded bank above the river, the outer wall of the original construction has been discovered with remains of a buttressing wall. Not far from the point where the Claudia emerges from the cliff the outer wall has again been cut for the introduction of an alternative tunnel of Hadrianic date along the left bank as far as the bridge below Vicovaro (for the whole of this section see Van Deman, pp. 195–196, 198, 259; pl. XXXIII, 1/2; Ashby, Index, *s.v.* S. Cosimato, and figs. 7 and 16).

Km. 48,3. Mandela station.

Km. 48,3–4. A little further on another stretch of the channel of the Claudia is visible high up above the road, behind a small mill (Van Deman, p. 194; Ashby, p. 194), in front of the Casa Cantoniera km. 48,358.

Km. 48,5 approx. Here the Marcia crossed the Licenza on a long low bridge (Van Deman, pp. 74, 75, fig. 8; Ashby, p. 101). Opposite the railway bridge over the river three broken pieces of the channel walls of the Claudia (Van Deman, p. 194; Ashby, p. 194).

Km. 48,0–53,0 approx. Before Cineto Romano, the Claudia turns to the north (as does the railway), passes around the head of a valley and continues its way, not far from the Marcia, to the junction of the road to Mandela with the Via Valeria (km. 48,0 approx.). Due east of the station of Mandela, to the west of the signal-box 55,348 (= Via Valeria km. 50,0) an underground channel of the Claudia of uncertain date has been discovered (Van Deman, p. 193; Ashby, p. 194). A little more than a mile beyond, below the station of Cineto (i.e. about km. 56,5 of the railway, corresponding with km. 51,5 approx. of the Via Valeria), the laying of the railway brought to light an interesting section of the channel in the bank south of the railway tracks. Across the railway, in a field, a second piece of the same channel exists above the surface of the ground (Van Deman, pp. 193–194; Ashby, p. 193).

Km. 48,5 approx. Before the footbridge below the signal-box 53,937 the channel of the Anio Novus can be seen, with a line of buttresses (Van Deman, p. 279; Ashby, p. 261).

Km. 49,0 approx. To the north-east of the station of Mandela, and west of the Fosso Riorone, several traces of the Anio Novus exist (Van Deman, pp. 276–277, 278, fig. 37; Ashby, p. 260; the point corresponds with Baedeker, *loc. cit.*, west of the name Arnaro).

Km. 49,1 approx. Near the signal-box 54,460, just west of the Fosso Riorone, there is another well-preserved piece of the channel of the Anio Novus in the woods above the path (Van Deman, p. 278; Ashby, p. 260).

Km. 50,5–52,5 approx., or at most 53,7. The Valeria Antica runs mostly on a lower level than the Nuova and to the south of it. No ancient remains exist, but the track is visible. It ran along what is now the back of the Osteria della Spiaggia.

Km. 51,9. Bivio Cineto Romano. Here once stood the Osteria della Ferrata (now non-existent); the site corresponds with the ancient Statio ad Lam(i)nas = the Roman milestone XXXIII (not in P.-W.; cf. Nibby, *Anal.* iii^2, p. 638; Baedeker, map pp. 478–479; Ashby and Pfeiffer, p. 116, fig. 5; 130; Ashby, p. 99 for confusion in this area; it is a pity he does not add much to clarify the situation, because he omits to say near which mile-stone of his system the two *osterie* were situated). Beyond the village of Cineto the modern road continues as a path, and represents an ancient way, which ran from there to Riofreddo and rejoined the Via Valeria near km. 63,6. That this road cannot be identified with the Valeria Antica has been argued by Ashby and Pfeiffer, pp. 130–131. From the Osteria della Ferrata to km. 55,0 of the Via Valeria Nuova the rear wall of the channel of the Aqua Marcia is still visible (Van Deman, p. 73).

Km. 52,0. Osteria della Spiaggia. The modern-sounding name is in reality old (Promis, p. 47, of 1836: . . . 'anche nel secolo scorso dicevasi Osteria della Spiaggia'); it derives from the nearby Colli la Spiaggia (*TCI, Italia Centr.*, i, 1924, map pp. 464–465; Ashby, pl. 7).

Km. 51,1–51,2. To the south of the modern road remains of the Ponte Arconi, an aqueduct-bridge over the river, are visible (or were visible? I have not been able to find them; cf. Ashby, p. 258). Near the bridge of the railway to Subiaco (now out of use as a railway, but still serving as a route for rural traffic), on the left bank, there is an interesting group of remains of the Anio Novus (Van Deman, pp. 275–276; Ashby, p. 259, who defines this point, which is north-east of the Osteria della Spiaggia, as km. 51,0). The Aqua Claudia passed near the Osteria della Spiaggia (remains visible above the road) and followed the curves of the hills until the station of Cineto (Van Deman, p. 193). At km. 52,2 approx. a section of the Marcia also ended (Van Deman, p. 73; Ashby, pp. 98–99).

Km. 53,0–57,0. Along this stretch the course of the Claudia is imperfectly known (Ashby, p. 193); it is clear, however, that it followed closely, though at a higher level, the line of the Marcia (Ashby, p. 98–99), above the Via Valeria (but it is hard to see how they crossed the valleys, since these recede too far for the aqueducts to follow their configuration.

Km. 53,7. At this point the Valeria Nuova literally touches the bed of the Anio; here in any case Valeria Antica and Nuova had to coincide.

Km. 54,1–55,1. The Valeria Nuova once more leaves the Antica and runs at a higher level.

Km. 55,7–56,8. The Valeria Antica again at a lower level.

Km. 55,8. Cross-road Roviano-Anticoli with a bridge on the Aniene.

Km. 56,7. This point corresponds with the Roman mile-stone XXXVI (4,8 km. beyond the Osteria della Ferrata); here in antiquity was the fork of the Via Valeria and the Via Sublaquensis (cf. Frontinus: *Aq.* 1,7, and for excavations *Not. Sc.*, 1890, map p. 161; Ashby–Pfeiffer, p. 130). Whereas the latter continued straight on (pl. VI, *d*), running along the Anio the former curved to the left towards the Ponte Scutonico (see below).

Km. 56,7–8. To the north of the road one sees in a field the substructures of the channel of an aqueduct or of a cistern; a mass of concrete with buttresses (pl. VII, *a*).

Km. 57,0. To the north a country-road at a higher level represents the Valeria Antica; there are doubtful traces of the *margo*. In this area, the course of the Aqua Marcia is clearly marked for some distance below its source, since many remains of its channel were found, in 1879, when the new Marcia-Pia was built on its line and, unfortunately, on its level. The line of the aqueduct at this point ran almost parallel to that of the river, following closely its curves, on the north side of the Valeria (Van Deman, pp. 71–73; Ashby, p. 98).

Km. 57,7. Modern *bivio di Subiaco* (Subiaco 15,2 km.; Frosinone 73,0 km.). About three miles to the south, near the former station Marano-Agosta, was situated the original source of the Marcia (Frontinus *loc. cit.*). The *fons* which Augustus added was quite near at a higher level; but natural changes in the floor of the valley have buried the springs far below the modern ground-level (from 7 to 8 m.: Van Deman, pp. 70, 72; Ashby, p. 56 and fig. 6; Baedeker, *loc. cit.*). About the sources of the Aqua Claudia nearly the same can be said as about those of the Marcia (Van Deman, pp. 188, 190, 193; Ashby, p. 193). The intake of the Anio Novus, however, was situated, in the time of Claudius, at mile-stone XLII of the Via Sublaquensis, but by order of Trajan it was removed farther up beyond Subiaco. Some remains have been found on the left bank of the Anio, but between Marano and Cineto Romano no traces are extant (Van Deman, pp. 273–275; pl. XLV; Ashby, p. 253; Baedeker, *loc. cit.*). The Cod. Vat. Lat. 9140, f. 248, contains a letter 'à M. de Suares prevot et vicaire ĝnal d'Avignon à Tivoli' sent (?) by 'Pros (?) Abb et monachi Sublacens. a^{0}. 1655.' It contains a drawing of 'ruine praetorii Neroniani' and 'aquaeductus Claudiani' (arcades and a bridge).

Km. 57,9. About at this point the Marcia and the Claudia, coming from the south, crossed the Via Valeria Nuova, but no traces at all survive. The Valeria Antica (accompanied, as is often the case, by telegraph-poles) always running at a higher level to the north of the modern road through wooded ground, is carried here across a small ravine by the Ponte Scutonico (cf. pl. VII, *d*, and Ashby–Pfeiffer, p. 110, figs. 2 and 3; of the polygonal supporting walls cited there, p. 131, with bibliogr. and Promis, pp. 51–52, nothing is left).[15] Because of its style it is, to my mind, contemporary with the Ponte S. Giorgio (see km. 63,1), i.e. Nerva. From this point the Valeria Antica continues for a while in the same manner, but afterwards it dwindles to a mere footpath, which meets the Valeria Nuova for a moment at mile-stone km. 58,2.

---

[15] This bridge for a long time presented a somewhat irritating problem because of the contradictions of the authorities. Nibby, *Anal.*, iii, 643, places it at an undefined distance to the east of the bivio Subiaco; the *TCI*, *Ital. Centr.*, i, 1924, p. 460 and *Lazio*, p. 257, below Roviano between the road to Anticoli and km. 57,9, therefore before the bivio Subiaco; Ashby-Pfeiffer, p. 108, 2 km. before the Ponte S. Giorgio (= km. 63,1), therefore near km. 61, which is to the north of Àrsoli. But these same authors indicate (*ibid.*, pp. 130–132 and maps, fig. 5 and pl. XIII, *a* and *b*) a point not far north of the bivio Subiaco.

Km. 58,2–3 to *58,4*. Here the Valeria Antica, avoiding the loop of the modern road, ran through what is now ploughed land.

Km. 58,4. A small path, leaving the Valeria Nuova towards the east and continuing the section previously described, represents the Valeria Antica; it seems to have preserved in places traces of the ancient paving in limestone. After a while the path, always maintaining the same low level in the valley of the torrente Riofreddo (whereas the Valeria Nuova climbs with big loops), widens and crosses a torrent. Immediately afterwards, on the south side, traces of the *margo* probably remain. Further on, the Valeria, partly in a rather bad state, crosses the torrent on a modern bridge and continues climbing steeply (but no more steeply than, for example, the Via Appia beneath Ariccia), until it reaches the road to Rocca di Botte. With a curve to the left, passing over a modern bridge, the road continues its ascent towards Àrsoli (pl. VII, *c*), which it enters with another steep gradient (upper part now obstructed). Near the modern fountain at the top, it turns to the right and climbs towards the present Piazza Valeria, where the Roman mile-stone XXXVIII[16] now stands, evidently not *in situ*, although since the figure (38 × 1,6 = 60,8 km.) corresponds closely with the distance of Arsoli from Rome (60 km.), its original position cannot have been far away. Gruter, following Ercole Ciofani, mentions that it had been found 'ad pontem Somnuli secundum Viam Valeriam,' which Nibby[17] explains: 'quel ponte trovasi dinanzi la terra presso la così detta Osteria del Piano.' This, I think, must be the modern bridge to be found near the Via di Rocca di Botte; the Osteria was somewhat to the south (see the plans cited).

Km. 60,0. Àrsoli, founded after the destruction of Carsioli. The Valeria Antica proceeds from the Piazza Valeria towards the Valeria Nuova. On reaching it, it turns sharply to the right, in a direction opposite to that of the Nuova, and climbs with hair-pins, crossing the Valeria Nuova, up to the level of the railway station (the house opposite the station is situated on it). Beyond, it climbs again[18] for some time through trees—a nice walk—towards the highest point here (corresponding at a guess with km. 62,5 of the Valeria Nuova), where it begins its descent, always clearly visible on the ground, reaching the modern road just before the Ponte San Giorgio.

Km. 63,1. The modern road crosses a ravine upon an ancient bridge, the Ponte San Giorgio (so called after a hamlet and a convent higher up). It dates from the reign of Nerva, who carried out important restorations along the Valeria (Promis, pp. 53–54; Nibby does not speak of it, either in the *Viaggio*, or in the *Analisi*, because of his wrong interpretation of the course of the Valeria Antica as running through Riofreddo; Ashby–Pfeiffer, p. 109, fig. 1).

---

[16] CIL IX, 5963 (Nerva). Cf. Nibby, *Anal.*, i^{2}, pp. 258–259 (and not 267 as wrongly stated, *ibid.*, iii^{2}, p. 643); Ashby-Pfeiffer, pp. 128, 131 (then still in the Villa Massimo).

[17] *Anal.*, i^{2}, p. 259 (also for Gruter). Cf. Ashby-Pfeiffer, p. 116, fig. 5 (just east of S. Maria, south of Àrsoli).

[18] This climb was inevitable on account of the configuration of the rocks. The modern road and the railway can maintain a lower level only because their track has been prepared with the aid of dynamite. The ancient road must have been in use until well into the second half of the nineteenth century.

Km. 63,6. Bivio towards Riofreddo. Here debouched the ancient road from Osteria della Ferrata (cf. km. 51,9), which has often been wrongly taken to be a part of the Valeria Antica. For some time after this point it would be difficult for the modern road to follow a course different from that of the Valeria Antica, but somewhere near km. 65,0, before reaching the station of Oricola-Pereto, the Valeria Nuova diverges towards the south, whereas the Antica continued towards the north-east, thus running to the north of the railway (cf. plans in Ashby–Pfeiffer, pl. XIII, *a*; *Opusc. Archaeol. Inst. Suec. Rom.*, i, 1935, p. 75, fig. 3; *Not. Sc.*, 1951, pp. 172–173, figs. 1–2).

Km. 67,0 approx. Carsioli (better form than *Carseoli*). The site is reached by the country-road along the railway from the station of Oricola, which crosses the railway near the first signal-box after that station; after a while it goes due north towards Contrada la Cività (Carenzia). Carsioli guarded the rather important Via del Turano and the Passo di Monte Bove (see P.-W., *s.v.* Carsioli; Ashby–Pfeiffer and *Opusc. Arch., loc. cit.*).

Km. 69,5. The river Turano, the ancient Tolenus, flowing in a northwesterly direction towards Rieti (cf. P.-W., *s.v.*).

Km. 70,4. Fork for Rieti. Along the Via del Turano, Collalto Sabina 12 km.; Nespolo 14 km.; Collegiove 21 km.; Rocca Sinibalda 30 km.; Rieti 52 km. It is near this fork that a large votive deposit (*Not. Sc.*, 1951, p. 169 ff.) was found.

Km. 71,0 Carsòli. The ancient highway passed through the city in a straight line (the name Via Valeria is still in use), whereas the modern road swings to the right to avoid the centre. Like Àrsoli this town is a descendent of *Carsioli.* In the eastern part of the town practically nothing of the ancient road survives as a consequence of the building of the railway and other works. For a while the Valeria Antica and the Nuova proceed together.

Km. 73,6. From this point for a long time the Valeria Nuova runs at a higher level, after having made a slight bend to the left. The Antica ran straight on, but is lost in arable land for some hundreds of metres.

Km. 74,0. A path to the right leads to the first remains of the Valeria Antica, where it can once more be traced, following a course just above the bed of the Turano.

Km. 76,0 approx. (*estimated*). Before this point the torrent has destroyed parts of the road (pl. VII, *b*), which here emerges again from the river-bed, below signal-box 78,0.

Km. 77,5 approx. (*estimated*). Near this point the Valeria Antica climbs away from the torrent, crossing the railway near signal-box 80,0 (pl. VIII, *a*).

Km. 78,3–78,4. Still climbing steeply the Valeria Antica crosses the Nuova (pl. VIII, *b*) and continues in the same manner and in a nearly straight line until it reaches the village of Colli di Monte Bove.

Km. 81,0. Colli di Monte Bove. The village, built along the slope of a mountain, is situated between the Valeria Nuova, which after kilometres of curves skirts its upper part, and the Antica, which runs between its lowest houses (pl. VIII, *c*) half way up the hill between the railway and the modern road. Having left the village at the same level it shortly afterwards makes a sharp steep turn (pl. VIII, *d*), continuing along a much gentler slope in a straight line, accompanied here and there by remains of *margines* and supporting walls (pl. IX, *a*).

Km. 83,0. Near this point the Antica, following its straight course, and the Nuova, continually twisting, cross twice, rejoining near km. 84,0.

Km. 84,0. At first the two coincide, but afterwards, at a point which cannot be determined with certainty, the Antica reaches a higher level (pl. IX, *b*) in order to avoid a mass of rocks near km. 85,0 through which the modern road has been hewn. The ancient road can sometimes be followed; at other points it has disappeared; the general course is that of the telegraph-poles.

Km. 86,0. To the north of the modern way and on a higher level a supporting wall of the Valeria Antica in polygonal technique (pl. IX, *c*). Afterwards the road begins to descend.

Km. 86,8. The Valico del Passo di Monte Bove at m. 1.220 above sea-level. The Valeria Antica is still running to the north of the Nuova, behind the Casa Cantoniera, and at about the same level. At this point the two part company, the Nuova descending slowly in a very wide curve (cf. the map *TCI, It. Centr.*, i, 1924, pp. 456–457), the Antica descending steeply, in a straight line towards Roccacerro (pl. IX, *d*).

Km. 87,0 approx. Roccacerro, situated between the modern and the ancient road; the latter, still descending, passes through the lower part of the village, where the name Via Valeria still survives. I observed no antique traces.

Km. 90,0–90,1 (of the modern road, which has made a long detour). On the Valeria Antica, running at a higher level, a small chapel (pl. X, *c*); immediately afterwards the rock has been hewn away in order to make the necessary carriageway. Along this stretch there are also polygonal supporting walls, scarcely visible because of the luxuriant vegetation (pl. X, *a*).

Km. 90,2–3. At this point a difficulty arises. If one follows the telegraph-poles, assuming that they represent the ancient course, as they do on the Passo di Monte Bove and also along the Via Appia (e.g. between Fondi and Itri), one might suppose that the Antica went in this direction, the more so, as somewhat further on supporting walls in sandstone are visible. This theory must be abandoned, however, because, as we shall see presently, the ancient road entered Tagliacozzo at the top of the city, and a road between these two points is a physical impossibility, as can easily be ascertained if one walks in the opposite direction, starting from Tagliacozzo. The supporting walls mentioned above (assuming that they are ancient, which I believe they are) must therefore belong to a side-road or terrace. The ground imposes the following solution: at the point 90,2–3 a small path probably representing the Valeria Antica descends towards the modern road and for about 100 m. the two are identical.

Km. 90,3–4. Near a small building situated on the Valeria Nuova a path leaves towards the east (it is indicated on the map *TCI, It. Centr.*, i, 1924, pp. 456–457,

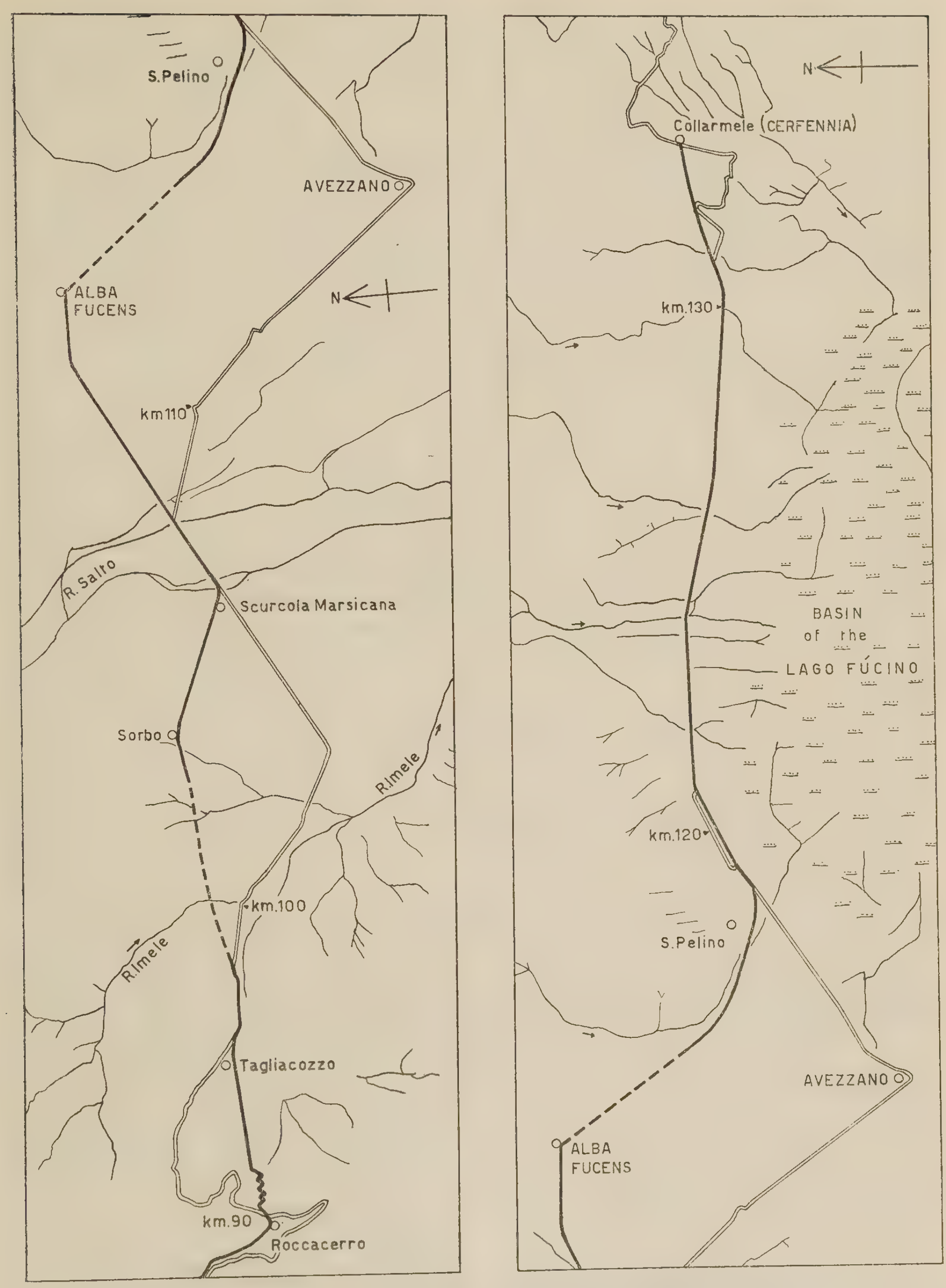


FIG. 2. THE VIA VALERIA FROM TAGLIACOZZO TO COLLARMELE

just on the right border) and dives steeply[19] with hairpin bends through a stretch of woodland (the walk is very attractive; pl. X, *d*). At the bottom of the valley it turns sharply to the right and proceeds in the direction of Tagliacozzo along an easily followed track. Just above the town it reaches the modern Via di Cappadocia[20] (pl. X, *b*), unites with it for a certain distance, and then diverges towards the right (once there were ancient supporting walls,[21] but I believe they no longer exist) reaching Tagliacozzo Alta under the name of Via fuori Porta Soccorso. It crosses the medieval town in a fairly straight line, leaves it through the Porta Valeria, and descends with bends, partly again coinciding with the Via di Cappadocia, except in the last section, where the Valeria went more to the east. (It is now recognisable with difficulty on account of the modern buildings.)

Km. 97,6. Tagliacozzo Bassa; at or near the modern square Valeria Antica and Nuova unite again. The former continues its original direction towards the railway-crossing.

Km. 98,1–2. At this point, just beyond the railway-crossing, the Valeria Nuova leaves again towards the south making, together with the railway, a quite un-antique looking curve. If one remembers that the upper part of Scurcola still has a Via Valeria, it is quite obvious for anybody who has experience of Roman roads, that the Antica made straight through the hills from 98,1–2, and this is confirmed if one walks over the ground beginning from Scurcola. Only the solution on the Tagliacozzo side is difficult, because every trace has disappeared. I suggest the following: at km. 98,1–2 (fork with a cross) the country-road represents in its first part the ancient highway, as far as the bend. From there it proceeded straight on, where a track along some houses keeps the same direction, until the Via di San Donato (fork at km. 99,2–3 of the Valeria Nuova). Part of this coincides with the Antica, until another country-road diverges to the right, climbing towards a farm, beyond which, on the other side of the crest of the hill, a track lined by oaks continues exactly in the direction of Scurcola. At this point every trace vanishes, so that one must reconstruct theoretically.

Most probably the Valeria went on in the direction of the small village of Sorbo, because somewhat to the west of it, on what is now a true mountain-track, the stump of a milestone is standing, to my mind *in situ* (no trace of an inscription survives). Although I am quite unable to define the course along which the Valeria reached this point from the Via di S. Donato, it is certain that we are on the right trail here, because the path, having crossed Sorbo in a straight line, bears towards a fork with a white house and an oak-tree, where again the trunk of a mile-stone is standing; it is bigger than the previous one, but is probably not *in situ* since it stands on the other side of the road, too neatly at the fork. It has no trace of an inscription left. At this point Scurcola comes in view immediately in front, and from here, dropping down along the hill crowned by a cross, the road enters the town under the name of Via Valeria. It drops across it and rejoins the Valeria Nuova.

---

[19] I know no other road in this part of Italy that has such steep gradients. I imagine that there were people who earned a living hiring out perhaps oxen, especially in the case of heavy loads, since horses certainly would have been unable to pull them.

[20] Village to the south-east of Tagliacozzo.

[21] Promis, p. 60.

Km. 105,6. Scurcola Marsicana. The junction of the two roads is probably precisely at this point. In the park around the War-memorial lie the scattered fragments of a funerary monument, blocks of travertine (one of which bears a sword in relief) as well as the drum of a column.

Km. 107,3. The Valeria crosses the Fiume Salto[22] (the ancient *Himella*, v, P.-W., *s.v.*). Immediately afterwards the modern road bears right in order to reach Avezzano (7,7 km. distant;[23] total from Rome 115 km.), but the true Valeria runs straight on as a track towards Alba Fucens. This lies on a hill immediately in front, and was the fortress that guarded the crossing of the Valeria and the highly important north-south trade-route (which I propose to call the Via del Salto) through the region now called Cicolano and further south.

Km. 113 approx. (*estimated*). Alba Fucens. The Italo-Belgian excavations have discovered within the town the Roman milestone LXVIII, corresponding with the modern measurement of 108,8 km. The difference from the above quoted number, calculated on the basis of the modern road, is readily explained by the many curves in the area of the Passo di Monte Bove. The heavily fortified position consists of a double hill (cf. for example Pratica di Mare—Lavinium Laurens);[24] the Valeria entering through the Porta Massima[25] (cf. *Not. Sc.*, 1950, map facing p. 250; Promis, map at the end, west gate) runs between the two summits along the forum. The northern one bears the ruins of the earthquake of 1915, the southern the new village of Nuova Albe. For the excavations cf. *Not. Sc.*, 1950, p. 248 ff. and *Bull. Acad. R. Belgique*, 1949 ff.; earlier bibliography Promis, *op. cit.*, and P.-W., *s.v.* Alba Fucens.

The Via Valeria leaves Alba through the South Gate, from which it descends to the gravel plain (no trace visible here). There it crossed the north-south road from Avezzano to Massa and is visible to the east of it as a country-road which follows a ravine along the foot of the Monte Tre Monti until it reaches Paterno. It is not impossible that there the last part coincides with the gravel-road from Paterno to Antrosano. Anyhow, the Valeria Nuova joins the Antica again near km. 119,0.

Km. 118,8. San Pelino (*TCI, Abruzzi-Molise*, 1938, map pp. 112–113) : junction of the two roads.

Km. 119,8. The Nuova leaves the Antica again bearing to the right. The latter goes straight on towards the station of Paterno. There it disappears, but becomes visible again afterwards immediately to the south of the railway.

Km. 121,9. After crossing the Valeria Antica, the Nuova rejoins the Antica. No trace of any ancient construction until km. 131. I see no reason why this straight stretch should not be ancient.

---

[22] So reads the signboard on the bridge. But the *TCI, Abruzzi e Molise*, 1938, p. 169 specifically states (as does P.-W., *s.v.* Himella) that this part is still called Imele, and that Salto is the name it gets further down-stream.

[23] In the *frazione* Cappelle is the fork for Rieti (80 km.). In order to go to Alba Fucens one takes this road until the fork for Massa d'Albe, then turns right and follows the first country-road after the churchyard.

[24] For this place cf. *Mededelingen Nederlands Histor. Inst.* III, ix (in print).

[25] Cf. *Not. Sc.*, 1950, p. 283 (disagreeing with Promis).

Km. 131,1–2. Fork for the Strada Statale 83 or Via Marsicana (towards Pescina, etc.). From here the Valeria Antica went straight on[26] to Collarmele, as traces indicate (a track still exists, cf. *TCI*, *Abruzzi-Molise*, 1938, map pp. 112–113 and *PBSR*, ix, 1920, pl. XI).

Km. 134,7. Collarmele-Cerfennia (*PBSR*, ix, 1920, p. 75 ff.).

C. C. Van Essen

---

[26] Theoretically one could think of another solution. At km. 130,1, after a slight curve to the left, the Antica could have gone straight on towards km. 0,4 of the Via Marsicana, coinciding with it until km. 1,5 or at most 1,8, reaching Collarmele with another curve (at km. 2,2 there is a cross-road towards Collarmele). I do not think this probable, however, and there is a total lack of any traces on the ground.

INVESTIGATIONS AT "JULIANOS' CHURCH" AT UMM-EL-JEMAL

(Plates XI–XVI)

THE main object of the expedition to Umm-el-Jemal, which was financed by the Walker Trust and sponsored by the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, in the summer of 1956,[1] was to re-examine the evidence for the history of a church building which had been discovered and summarily surveyed by Professor H. C. Butler and the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria in the years 1904–1905. This was the church which the Princeton expedition named after a certain Julianos and dated to the year A.D. 344 on the basis of an inscription which they found lying in the ruins and which they associated (mistakenly, as it now seems) with the foundation of the church.[2]

Of the hundreds of church buildings which must have been constructed during the first half of the fourth century, very few are known to us, and a church with a recognisable plan and so early a date is a matter of considerable consequence in the study of the development of church architecture. It therefore seemed well worth while to make a special visit to the site of Julianos' church to verify the facts published by the Princeton Expedition; especially as their survey was a rather summary one and seemed, when the writer visited the site in 1953, to be mistaken in more than one important respect.

A. THE TOWN OF UMM-EL-JEMAL

At present the town of Umm-el-Jemal is almost completely deserted.[3] A family of Arabs have pitched their tents more or less permanently on the west side of the ruins, but their beduin dislike of solid walls prevents them from making homes in any of the buildings, even though many of the houses are still sufficiently habitable. However, the Arabs use a few of the ancient buildings as grain stores and where necessary these have been roughly repaired for the purpose.

The deserted town lies two miles to the north of the highroad which runs from Jerusalem to Baghdad and eight miles east of the Damascus–Ma'an Railway

---

[1] The writer would like to thank the Trustees of The Walker Trust for the grant which made the expedition possible, and also contributed to the cost of publication. He also thanks the Director of The British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem for sponsoring the expedition and for much valuable help. He is also deeply indebted to Mr. G. Lankester Harding, formerly Director of Antiquities in Jordan, for permission to undertake the work, and to Mr. Yusef Sa'ad, Secretary of the Palestine Archaeological Museum, whose assistance was invaluable.

The party was a small one, consisting only of three Europeans. About a dozen Arabs from the family which lives near the site were employed in clearing fallen masonry. Work started on 16 July and ended on 10 August.

[2] Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1904–5, Division II, *Ancient Architecture in Syria*, Section A, *Southern Syria*, pp. 173–176.

Also *Ibid.*, Division III, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions*, No. 262. Henceforward referred to as "Princeton, II and III."

[3] A good general impression of the town can be obtained from the air-photographs published by G. Horsfield in *Antiquity*, 1937, pp. 456–460.

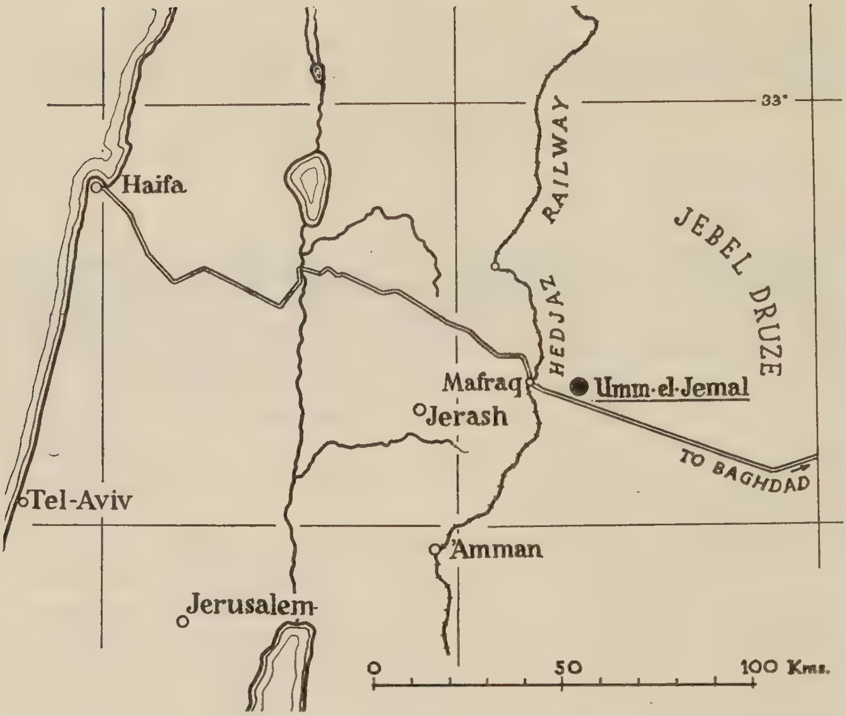


Fig. 1. Location of Umm-el-Jemal

(fig. 1). It is quite easily accessible, the desert between it and the modern road being traversable by motor-car without difficulty. The nearest village is Mafraq which lies at the intersection of the road and the railway.

Rain falls plentifully in the winter and the plains in which the town is located yield a good harvest of grain to those of the nomads who take the trouble to sow. Although there are no wells or perennial springs, the winter rain is gathered through aqueducts into a large stone-built reservoir which contains enough water to supply the Beduin and their flocks throughout the dry months. The reservoir that is used to-day is the same one as formed the principal water supply of the ancient township. There are also the remains of many smaller reservoirs which no longer hold water. It seems likely that, in ancient times, every large house had a private reservoir which was filled with rain-water during the winter and lasted through the summer; as is still common practice in many Palestinian hill-towns. There is little reason to suppose that the city was abandoned because of changes in the climate, as was suggested in the Princeton Report.[4]

As well as their harvest of grain, the plains around Umm-el-Jemal provide ample grassland for flocks, and certain features of the ruined buildings show clearly that cattle-dealing was one of the principal occupations of the inhabitants in classical times, if it was not their staple industry.

---

[4] Princeton, II, A, p. 159.

The methods of building used in this region of Southern Syria during the classical period (and even to-day) have been well described by H. C. Butler in the Princeton publication.[5] The walls of the buildings are usually about one metre thick, or a little less, and are made of basalt blocks laid in fairly regular courses 35 to 50 cms. high, without mortar. On the outside wall-face the blocks were usually squared and tooled to various degrees of fineness. The rough interior face was coated with several layers of plaster.

All intermediate floors and many (though not all) of the roofs were constructed in stone; not with ordinary vaulting technique, but taking advantage of a special characteristic of the local basalt—its being quarryable in exceptionally long and slender blocks. Courses of long corbel-stones were made to project from the walls at the level where a floor had to be built, and the intervals between the extremities of these corbels were spanned by long stone beams (pl. XI, *a*). The corbels were counter-weighted by the corresponding corbels of an adjacent room, or else by the weight of the walls in an upper storey. Rooms which were too broad to be spanned in this way were divided by cross-arches into bays of suitable dimensions, and the corbels and span-stones were then built up over the arched divisions (pl. XI, *b*).

The use of this type of stone-beamed floor, together with the survival of several massive door-leaves of stone, has created a false impression that stone was used in this south Syrian architecture as a substitute for timber.[6] This is not really so. The stone beams ought more properly to be considered as substitutes for stone vaults and the stone door-leaves as substitutes for metal ones. Timber was used no less freely here than in other Mediterranean regions. It was used for the roofs of at least half of the total number of known churches in Umm-el-Jemal, and it now seems probable that not a few of the stone-slab constructions which were formerly taken to be the roofs of domestic buildings are really only the floors of vanished upper storeys, more lightly built than the lower ones and almost certainly roofed with timber. Moreover, while a number of external doorways were closed with leaves of massive stone slabs (some are still in working order), the mortices in the stone sills and lintels of all ordinary doorways prove that most door leaves were made of timber.

As far as can be discerned the lay-out of Umm-el-Jemal follows no preconceived plan; the buildings being scattered haphazard over a roughly oval area some 800 metres from north to south and 500 from east to west (fig. 2). Public buildings, churches and dwelling houses are all packed together in irregular insulae, between which there were few, if any, proper streets; only such narrow twisting lanes and odd-shaped courts as had to be left to allow ingress to the houses. The outstanding feature of the town plan is a large open market place which runs from north to south, near the middle of the complex. On the ground, this open space is less evident now than it must originally have been, because it has been encroached upon by two churches, one of them dated A.D. 557. The northern end of the market is punctuated by a modest gateway, consisting of towers flanking an arch, which is securely dated by an inscription in honour of Commodus to the period A.D. 176–180. To the north-west of the gateway a row of tombs and a bridge over a dry stream-bed show the alignment of the road which led from Umm-el-Jemal towards the coast. The arch

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 67–70.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 68.

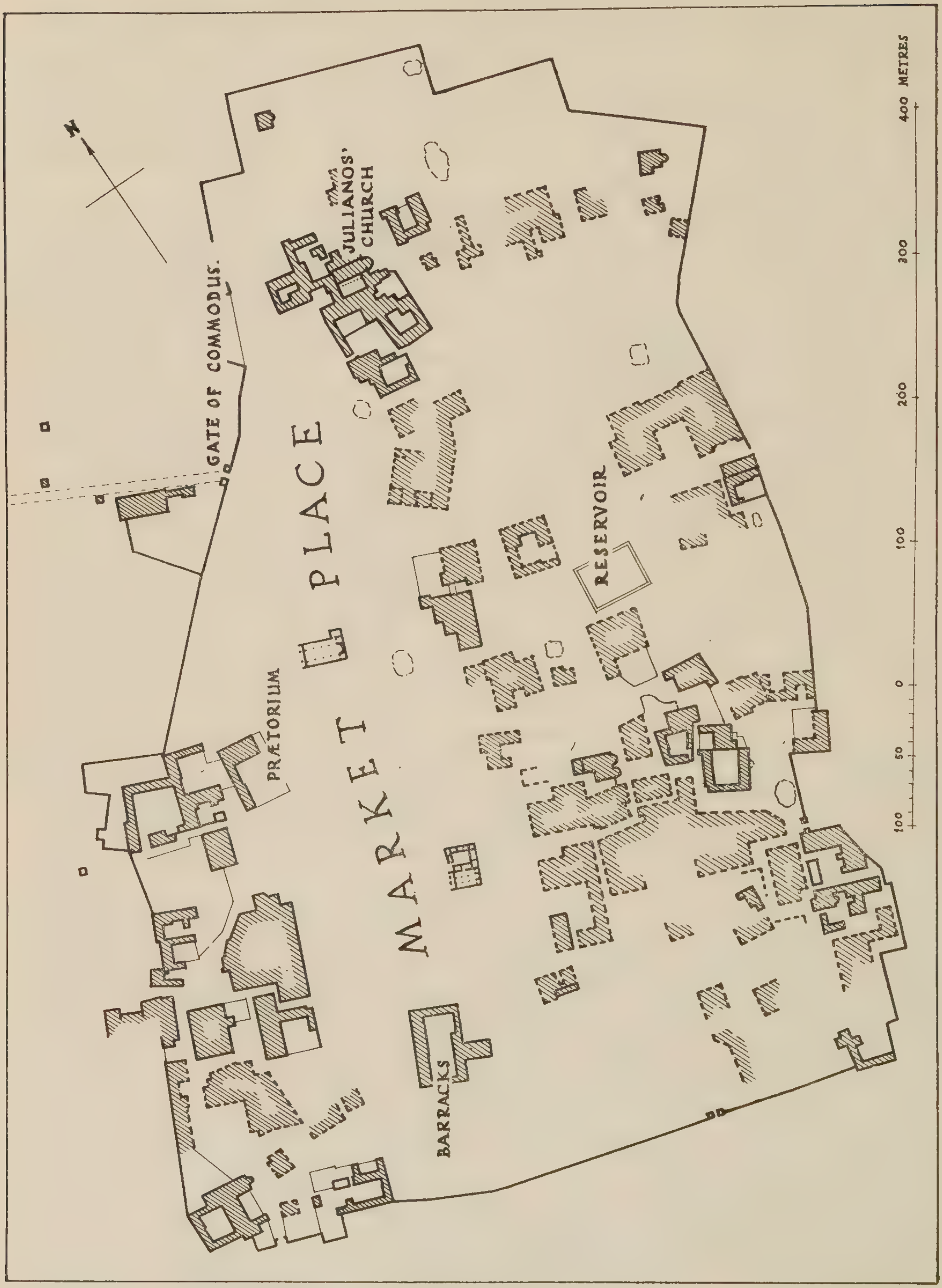


Fig. 2. General Plan of Umm-el-Jemal
(from the Princeton Report, with minor alteration based on air photographs)

is therefore to be regarded as the principal entrance to the town; marking the outer end of the line of communication which connected Umm-el-Jemal with the civilised world. The southern end of the market space is occupied by the public building which Butler identifies as a Barracks and dates *c.* A.D. 412. The Praetorium, on the west side of the open space, is the only building in the town, so far discovered, to show any appreciable trace of classical style. It has a neat axial plan and a colonnaded atrium, the wooden roof of which was supported on four columns with simple Ionic capitals.

Even without architectural evidence it would be reasonable to deduce from the size of the market-place and the nature of the surrounding country that Umm-el-Jemal was an entrepôt on the fringe of civilisation where prairie-bred flocks were bought from the nomads, mustered and dispatched along the westward road, to supply meat, pack-animals and wool to the cities of the Mediterranean coast. That this was so is amply confirmed by the domestic buildings of the town, a large proportion of which have certain significant characteristics which must now be described.

A typical Umm-el-Jemal house consists of a courtyard, approached through a gateway and surrounded by stone buildings one, two or three storeys in height. The gateway usually has an outer and an inner opening, between which there is a small vestibule. The outer opening has a trabeated lintel and is usually about 1,30 metres wide and is closed with doors, sometimes made of stone slabs. The inner opening of the gateway has no door, and is usually arched. There is generally an upper chamber over the vestibule, with a narrow window, placed symmetrically above the rectangular doorway below.

The chambers which surround the courtyard are mostly small enough to be roofed with simple stone-slab ceilings. That many of these rooms were stables is clearly shown by the stone-built mangers arranged in the thickness of their walls. The doorways of the stables are not particularly broad or high (usually less than 1 metre wide and 2 metres high) proving that the buildings were not made to house camels, whilst the height of the mangers above the floor (about 95 cms.) excludes their use by sheep or goats. The stables must therefore have been made for horses, donkeys or mules.

In contrast with the narrow stables and other small chambers surrounding the courtyard, nearly every house at Umm-el-Jemal had at least one room taller than the rest and so much larger that a cross-arch was necessary for the support of its stone-slab roof. In many instances these large rooms are also provided with stone mangers, and they sometimes share a row of mangers with an adjacent stable; the mangers being set in openings which pass through the dividing wall.

In most of the large rooms we find that one corner is occupied by a minute closet which can only have been a latrine, and if, as the mangers indicate, the large rooms were occupied by animals there would be no inconvenience in such an arrangement. The Princeton Report suggests that the large chambers were living rooms and H. C. Butler's estimate of the population is based on the general assumption that each large room represents accommodation for a family.[7] It now seems more probable that the large chambers were intended primarily as barns for the storage of fodder, but were occasionally used also as stables. As for the residential part of

---

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 195.

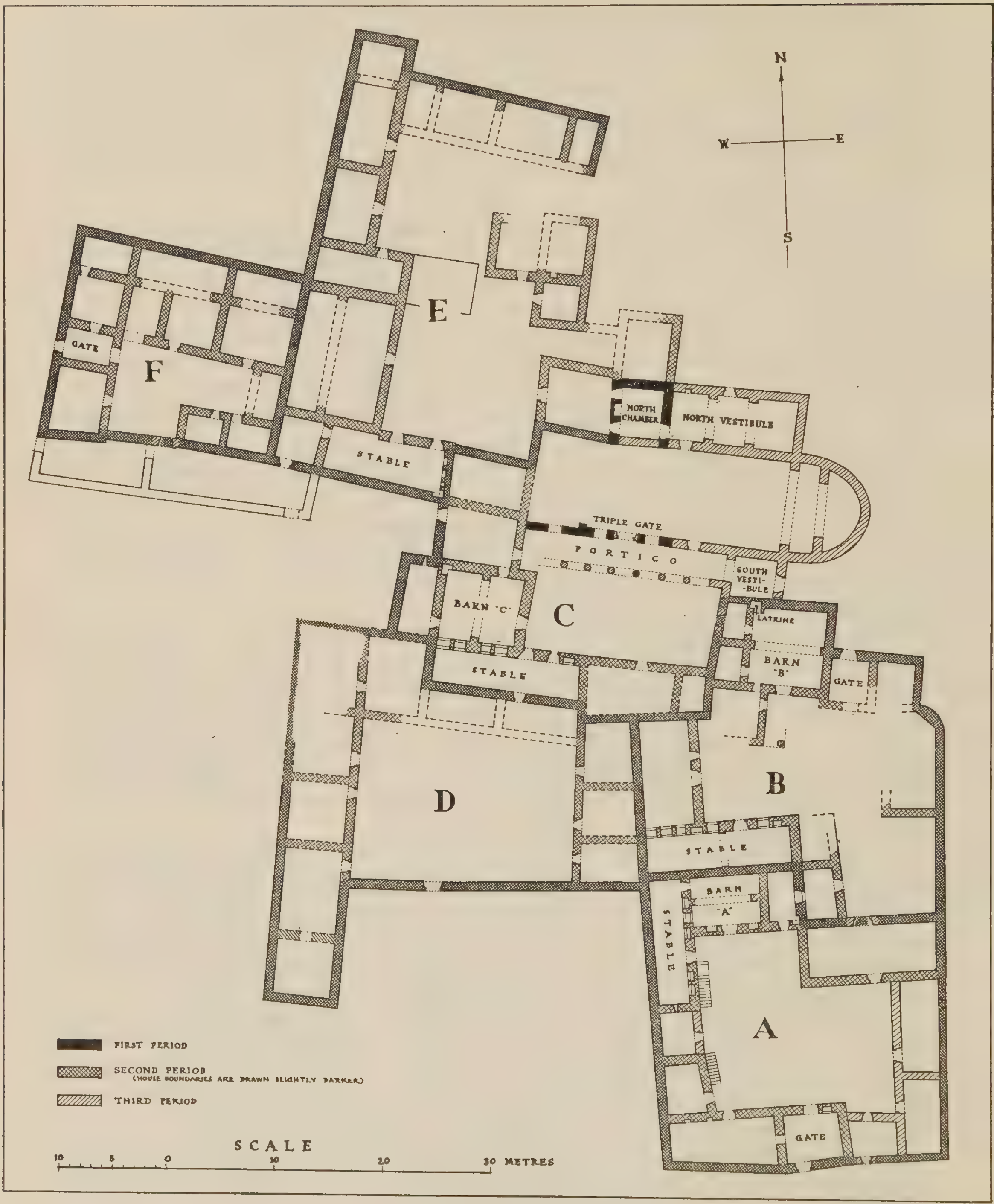


Fig. 3. Plan of Insula

each house, we may suppose that it would be placed as high up in the building as possible so as to get the benefit of whatever breeze may blow in the torrid summer climate. One typical farmhouse, which we examined in detail because it stands close to Julianos' church, still retains fragments of a more lightly-built storey above the barn, approached by an outside staircase and probably roofed with a timber-truss roof. It seems likely that this upper storey represents the usual dwelling-place of the house-owners.

B. THE INSULA OF JULIANOS' CHURCH

We will now examine in greater detail the buildings of the insula at the north end of the market-place, among which stands the church which it is convenient still to call by the name of Julianos; although, as we shall see in due course, there is no real justification for the name.

The insula comprises six distinct houses (A to F on fig. 3) placed together quite unsystematically, except that the various walls are approximately at right-angles to one another. Each individual house is more-or-less a simple rectangle, albeit with excrescences, but notably more organised in plan than the whole insula, which has no organised plan at all; its irregular outline resulting from the apparently haphazard contiguity of the six houses.

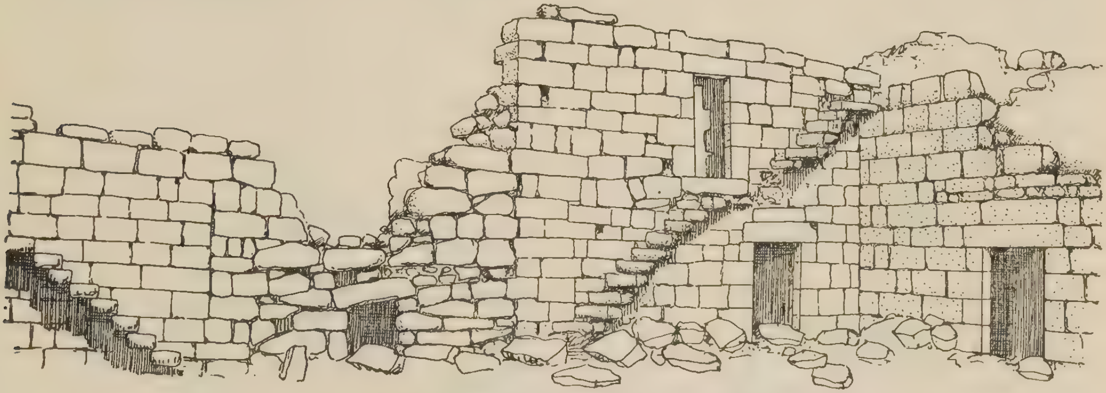


Fig. 4. The Courtyard of House A, West side

House A[8] is a typical cattle-dealer's establishment of the kind described above. In the centre of the south side is a substantially built gate-house which leads to a broad open courtyard surrounded with buildings, including the usual barn and stable buildings in the north-west corner (fig. 4). As usual the barn is easily recognised in the plan by the projecting piers of its cross-arch. Two exterior stone staircases on the west side of the courtyard gave access to first floor rooms above the west range, and one of the staircases continues upwards to serve rooms above the barn; the chambers which it seems reasonable to identify as the principal living rooms of the master of the house. One of the mangers in the stable passes through the wall so as also to supply animals tethered in the barn. The latrine of this house is not in the barn but in an adjacent room.

---

[8] Map no. 2 in Princeton II, A, identifies the same house as no. XI.

The three small rooms which form the south-east corner of the courtyard of House A seem, from their thinner walls and much inferior masonry, to be added subsequently to the original complex; using as their outside wall what had formerly been the boundary-wall of the open courtyard. The thinness of this wall shows that it was not originally intended to carry a stone roof. It should be noted that the doorways of these three added rooms have crosses carved on their lintels, whereas no Christian emblems were found anywhere else in the house, although the masonry surrounding the doorways to the barn and stable is finely-tooled.

There is a doorway leading from House A to House B but this does not necessarily indicate that the houses were inter-connected, since the masonry of the door-jambs suggests that the opening is secondary. This emerges from the fact that the coursing of the jamb-stones does not correspond with that of the wall itself. It is true that non-correspondence of coursing often means no more than that the door-jambs were built first by special masons and the walls filled in later by others less skilful. But that explanation will not suffice in this instance, because, as the sketch shows (fig. 5) it is the under-side of the door-stones which have been cut to accommodate the wall-stones. The excision being on the under-side proves that the jamb-stone was made to fit the wall-stone when the latter was in position and the former was not; thus proving that the doorway is later than the wall through which it passes.

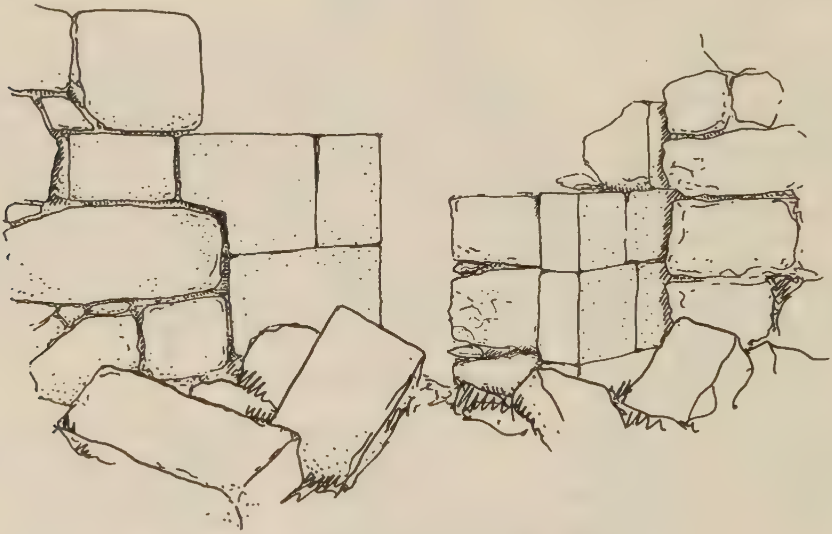


Fig. 5. Secondary Doorway from House A to B

House B is very similar to House A and the two seem likely to have been built at the same time since they are both contained between continuous flank-walls. The gateway to House B is in its north wall (pl. XII, *a*). It leads into what looks like a rather irregularly shaped courtyard, but the irregularity was originally less than now appears since several of the chambers that encroach on the court are later additions. Moreover, the area is thickly choked with the debris of fallen walls and there are several uncertainties in the plan. The stable of House B is on the side of the courtyard opposite to the entrance-gate and is a little larger than that of House A. Adjoining it, and sharing three of its mangers, is another long room with a wide, well-built doorway flanked by a small window. This may have been some kind of barn, though the principal barn of the house is situated on the north side of the courtyard, adjoining the gatehouse. It is a well-built and well-preserved structure, and deserves detailed description.

The façade (pl. XII, *b*) has a broad central doorway surmounted by a window and, at the level of the window, two ventilators symmetrically placed on either side, but barely visible from the exterior because they are scarcely wider than the normal joints of the ashlar. The doorway to the left is a secondary insertion, although so neatly constructed as to seem at first to belong to the original design. This side door led into a room which was built at a later date up against the barn façade. Having now collapsed, its walls are not visible in the photograph but their lower courses, including a doorway leading into the courtyard, are easily identifiable on the ground (pl. XLVIII).

In the interior of the barn we find the usual cross-arch (now walled up to divide the chamber in two) supporting a stone-slab ceiling with the help of a double tier of corbel-stones which project from the opposite walls. Pl. XIV, *c* shows the inside of the entrance door, with the window above it and one of the flanking ventilators on the right. Below the ventilator the neatly inserted secondary doorway can also be seen. The careful workmanship of the roof corbels will be noticed; contrasting strongly with the very uneven texture of the inside wall-face, which was formerly concealed by plaster. Presumably the well-tooled corbels were not so concealed. The two doorways, visible in the west wall of the barn, one above the other, gave access to two storeys of small flanking rooms and prove that a flight of timber stairs formerly existed inside the barn. Such stairs could have continued for the full height of the surviving walls to give access to the hypothetical living rooms above the barn.

In the north-west corner of the barn we find a very neatly-constructed example of a latrine (fig. 6). The little chamber is partly recessed in the thickness of the wall and partly formed by the protrusion into the barn of a door-jamb and lintel made with very finely tooled blocks. The stone door-frame is so rebated as to be closed by a wooden door-leaf which opened outwards into the barn. The door-sill was raised by four steps above the level of the barn floor, and in the door-sill we see the L-shaped mortice which was necessary for the fixing of a stoutly-made wooden door-leaf. The upper pivot of the leaf swung in a simple dowel-hole, but this method of fixing would obviously be impossible for the lower pivot since there would then be no way of inserting the leaf once the stone frame had been completed. The hole bored through the stone frame about half-way between the sill and the lintel is probably for the door-latch; in this case perhaps no more than a piece of cord.

The floor of the latrine has disappeared completely, and only two or three loose boulders were found in an excavation which went down to half a metre below the door-sill (pl. XLIX, *b*). No drain was found. Water could be introduced into the closet while the door was closed by pouring it from a jug into a shallow stone trough in a recess beside the doorway. From this trough the water trickled along a little groove and emerged inside the latrine at a stone spout formed in the extremity of the same block.

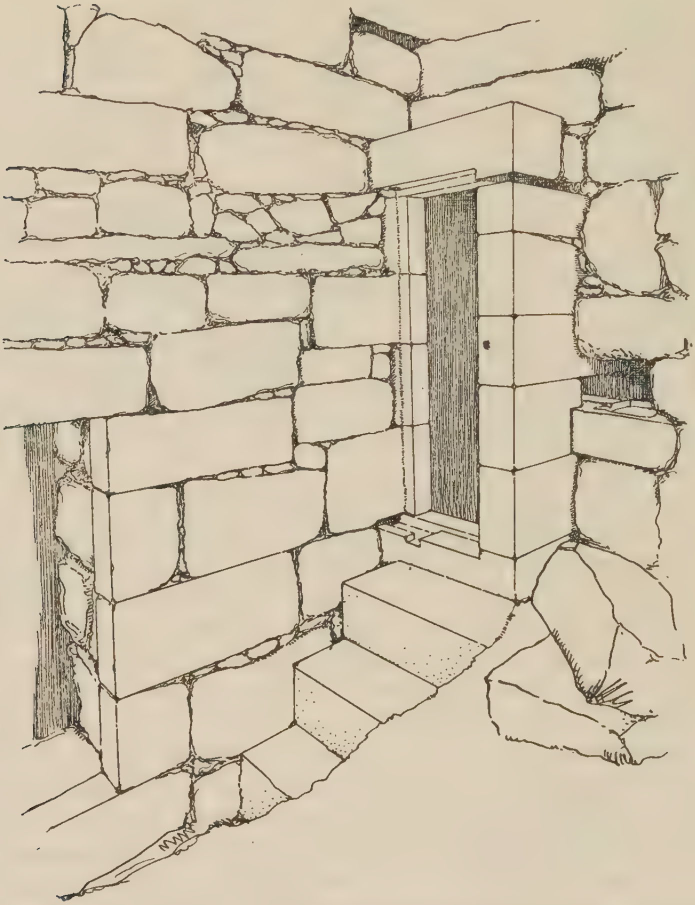


Fig. 6. Latrine in the North-West corner of Barn B

The small chambers on the west side of the barn are low enough to allow two storeys to be built below the level of the barn ceiling. A doorway at ground level, leading from the northern side chamber into the courtyard of the adjacent house (C), is a later insertion, as is proved by the cutting of its jamb-stones. These have the same peculiarities as those of the doorway which interconnects Houses A and B (above, p. 46). The door-lintel is ornamented with a cross but no other Christian emblems were found anywhere else in House B. It will be remembered that in House A too the cross was found only on secondary door-lintels.

The Princeton Report shows a doorway leading into the courtyard of House C from the southernmost of the two chambers beside barn B,[9] but this is a mistake and it is clear that no such door existed.

House C is the most important house in the insula from the point of view of the present study, because Julianos' Church was constructed partly within its walls. However, before we describe it, it will be best to deal briefly with the three other houses in the insula (D, E and F), as they seem to have very little to do with the church, and, once they have been dealt with, the way will be clear for the main subject of our study.

---

[9] Princeton, II, A, Illustration 147 on p. 175.

House D was a much simpler complex than either A or B, and so far as can be discerned from its badly ruined state, it did not include a barn. There was a large courtyard surrounded on three sides by small rooms and closed on the fourth by a wall, through which the entrance passed. There was an upper storey on the east side of the court but, to judge from the small amount of fallen debris, the west side was only one storey high. The existence of rooms along the north side is attested only by corbel-stones projecting from the party-wall, and these may indicate no more than a lean-to roof, since a window belonging to House C opens here. It seems probable that House D was purely a stable with no residential quarters; or at any rate only with quarters for servants.

House E covers a larger area than any of the other five houses. We were unable to identify the entrance-gate but it must have existed somewhere on the east side of the courtyard, where the surviving walls are very much ruined and the plan could not be clearly discerned. At the north end of the court there is a range of rooms, probably only one storey high, and similar buildings extend along the northern half of the west flank. The south-western portion of the house was built in two storeys and seems to have comprised a large barn, probably with several cross-arches, on the ground floor and on the first storey a very big room which must have had a wooden roof.

The south flank of the courtyard was occupied by a narrow stable with a latrine in one corner. There were other rooms above.

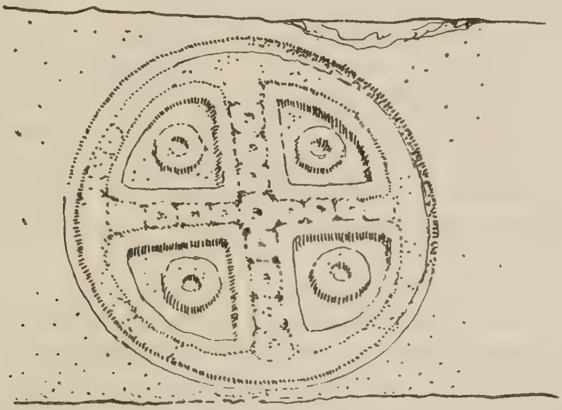


Fig. 7. Cross carved on the Lintel of House F

House F was entered through a gatehouse of the usual type on the west side of the courtyard. The house seems to have been altered, perhaps in quite recent times. A doorway, ornamented with a handsome cross (fig. 7), in the south wall of the courtyard, has been brought, complete, from some other place. This appears from the fact that the tails of its jamb-stones are too long for the thickness of the wall and project raggedly beyond the wall-face. The house is the smallest in the insula and seems to have had no barn.

C. "JULIANOS'" CHURCH

We now come to House C, incorporated in which is the church which the Princeton Expedition called by the name of Julianos. House C has the same essential elements as A and B; namely a courtyard, a barn, a stable and a latrine in a corner of the barn (pl. XLVIII). The barn is on the west and the stable is on the south side of the courtyard. The east side is closed by House B, while on the north side of the court we find the south wall of the church nave. In general it appears that the church was built as an extension of the house; making use of some of its walls and superseding others. It overlaps the north-east corner of the house but leaves untouched the stable, the barn and the courtyard.

The stable of House C is a long narrow chamber entered through two doorways in the south-west angle of the courtyard. Four of its mangers pass through the wall which separated the stable from the barn and could be used by animals standing in either chamber (fig. 8). The barn had a cross-arch supporting a slab-and-corbel ceiling of the usual type. There was a latrine in its north-west corner. The façade of the barn (pl. XIII) has a wide doorway made of well-tooled blocks, with a window beside it, rather high up, and a narrow vertical ventilator placed centrally over the top of the window. An outside staircase runs up the south wall of the courtyard and gives access to the chambers above the stable. The same staircase then turns to the right and continues upwards, cantilevered forward from the barn façade (most of the treads have broken off) to give access to a large room above the barn, which we suppose to have been the residential part of the complex. Part of the west wall of this upper room still exists, including a doorway made of neatly-tooled blocks, seen in the upper part of the photograph.

Excavation of the fallen masonry which choked the courtyard of House C revealed a neatly-laid pavement of white limestone flags. On the north side of the courtyard there was a columned portico in front of the entrance to the church nave and the paved floor of this portico was raised a few centimetres above the general level of the courtyard pavement (pl. XV, *b*). The portico columns have un-fluted, circular shafts, very slightly tapered, with simple Doric capitals and Attic bases (pl. XIV, *a* and *b*), all made in basalt. The bases were set on smooth rectangular footing-stones, but the part of the stylobate which lies in between the columns is made, strangely, of stones which are smaller and rougher than the other paving-stones.

The rear wall of the portico is the south wall of the church nave. It has three distinct vertical divisions, indicating at least two periods of construction (pl. XLIX, *a*). In the central division the wall is 95 cms. thick and is built with rough-faced blocks of larger size than normal, and contains three un-rebated openings; a broad central one flanked by two smaller ones (pl. XV, *a*). The two side openings have been blocked up with secondary masonry and the central opening has been made smaller than it was originally by the insertion of rebated jamb-stones and a lintel; all made of neatly-tooled basalt blocks. The height of the original opening (as distinct from the inserted doorway) is unknown, because the lintel has fallen, but it should probably be restored at the level of the topmost surviving courses. We deduce this from the abnormal thinness of the top courses, assuming that they were so made in order to adjust the proportions.

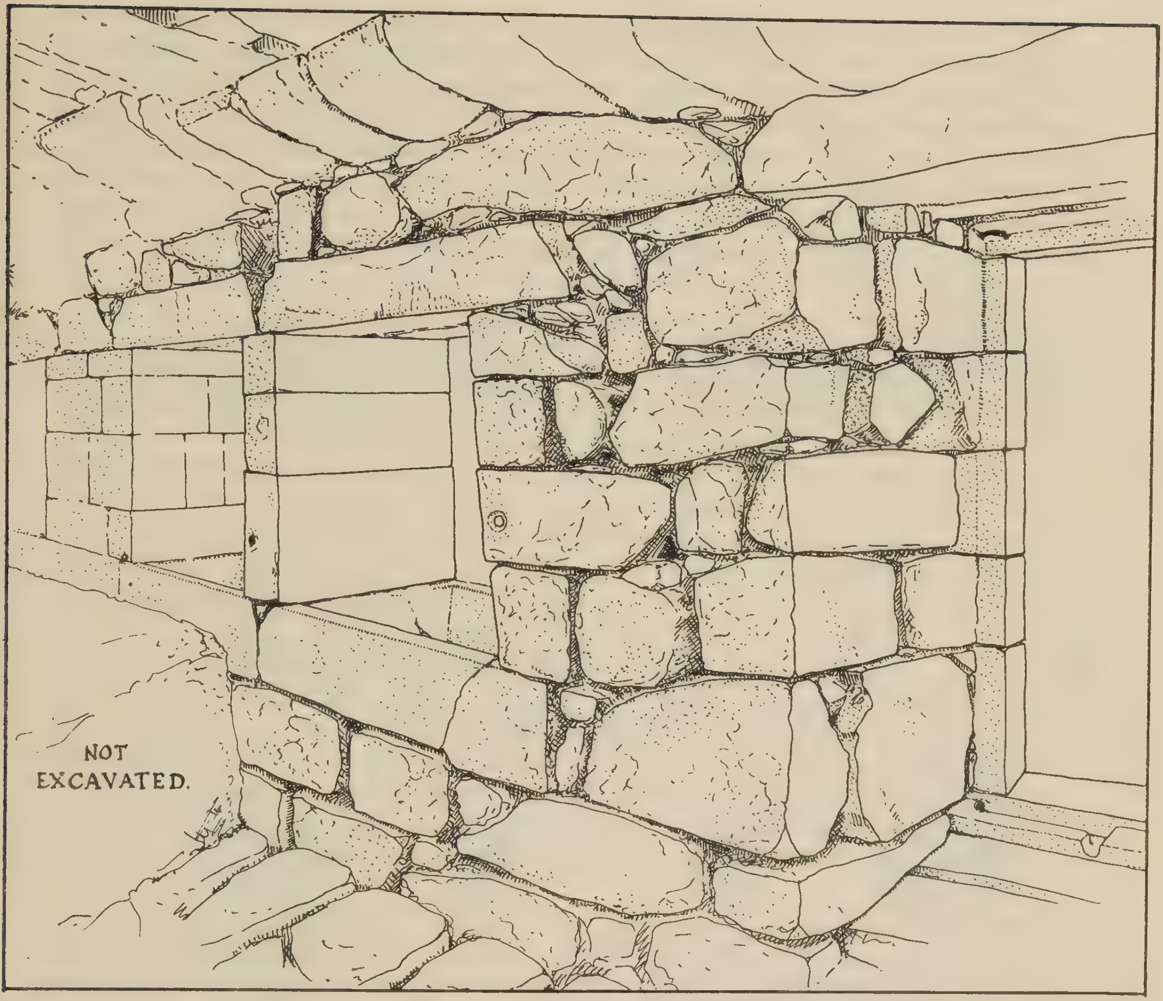


Fig. 8. Inside the Stable of House C. To the right the Doorway leading to the Courtyard

The term "Triple Gate" will henceforward be used to denote this central part of the wall with its three symmetrically-placed, unrebated openings. The nave wall to the west of it is considerably thinner (only 67 cms.) and has another unrebated opening. The junction of the thinner wall and the Triple Gate wall was not easy to locate but the removal of masses of fallen blocks finally disclosed the remains of a pilaster, projecting northwards into the nave, which marked the western extremity of the Triple Gate and the beginning of the thinner wall to the west of it (pl. XLVIII).

On the other hand the vertical division between the Triple Gate and the wall to the east of it is clearly visible in pl. XV, *a*. Although one block, near the top, projects beyond the vertical line and bonds into the adjoining wall the difference between the two walls is clear, not only from the perpendicular joint, but also from the interruption of the horizontal coursing.

It will be seen on pl. XLVIII that three units of the colonnade to the south of the Triple Gate were recovered *in situ*, enabling us to complete a row of six columns on the assumption that they were more or less evenly spaced. The location of the four central columns (as so identified) does not correspond exactly with the four piers of the Triple Gate and this suggested, at first, that the colonnade and the Triple Gate belong to different phases of construction (fig. 9, *a*). However, when we examined the footings of the only two columns which could be fully excavated, we found that the column base which stands opposite the eastern pier of the Triple Gate had been slightly displaced. It now overlaps the zone of rough stonework in the stylobate between the columns, and leaves partly untenanted the smoothly-dressed footing-stone upon which it ought to stand. If we assume that the column originally stood on the centre of the smooth footing-stone and that the next column to the left of it (opposite the eastern pier of the central opening of the Triple Gate) is still more or less in its correct position (fig. 9, *b*), we obtain an inter-columniation which corresponds with the dimensions of the Triple Gate. This suggests that the four middle

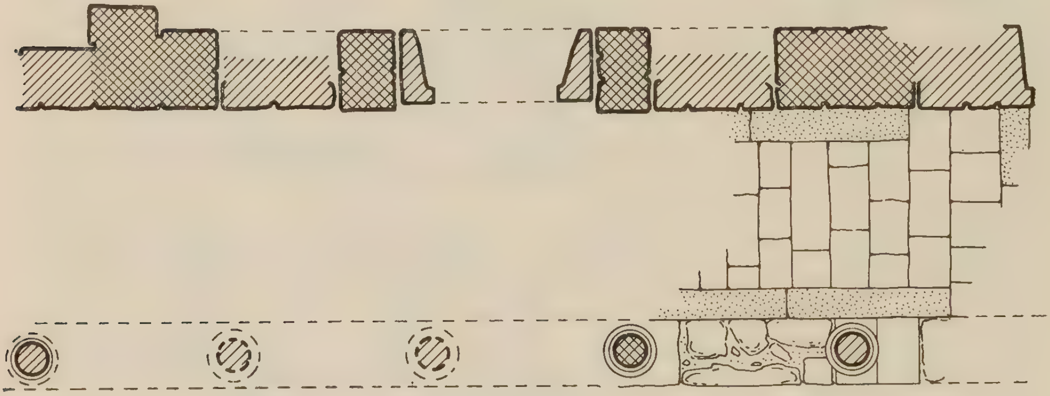


Fig. 9*a*. The Triple Gate: as excavated

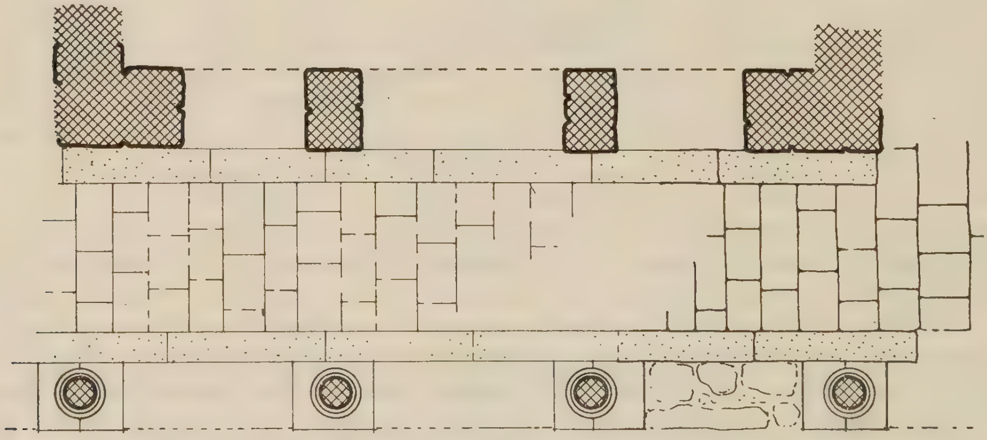


Fig. 9*b*. The Triple Gate: Conjectural original plan

columns of the colonnade were originally a tetrastyle portico belonging to the Triple Gate. The Gate was subsequently incorporated in the south wall of the church nave and three of its portico columns were shifted slightly from their original positions so as to bring them into their proper places in a secondary colonnade.

The thinner wall which continues the alignment of the Triple Gate to the west contains a single opening 1.30 metres wide. Like those of the Triple Gate the opening is un-rebated, and for this reason we have shown the wall as belonging to the same period as the Triple Gate. Only its highest surviving courses are visible in the masses of fallen masonry which surround it, and we were unable to determine whether or not this opening had been blocked like the side openings of the Triple Gate. The collapsed masonry also prevented a satisfactory analysis of the western part of the colonnade. The end column is *in situ* and projects above the rubble allowing us to reconstruct the spacing of the secondary lay-out; but close to it, though not in the line of the colonnade, there seems to be yet another column-shaft, which cannot be explained. The western end of the colonnade is closed by a neatly-constructed cross-wall, apparently part of House C, which is visible at the extreme right edge of pl. XIII. This wall is crowned by a row of corbel-stones and is pierced by a small doorway leading into a room on the north side of Barn C. Another doorway leads westwards from this room to the open ground outside the insula.

The west wall of the nave is a continuation of the wall at the west end of the colonnade. The remains of three windows can still be seen; one about 3½ metres above floor-level, near the south angle, and two others considerably higher up, in the northern part of the wall (pl. XLIX, *c*). If the west wall had originally been built as part of the church nave the windows would all have been placed at the same level, and the difference in levels is therefore a strong indication that this wall is part of a pre-existing building, incorporated subsequently in the nave, as was the Triple Gate.

The north-west corner of the nave is a well-bonded masonry angle, surviving here to a considerable height. Unfortunately the north wall is lost in piles of debris from the north-west angle as far as a point just opposite the Triple Gate, in which place it intersects the west wall of a small room which we call the North Chamber. Although we did not excavate the floor of this chamber, the levels of the lintels of its three doorways show that the building as a whole is at a considerably lower level than any other building adjacent to it (pl. XLIX, *c*). The manner in which the southern extremities of its east and west walls are embedded in the contiguous masonry leaves no doubt that it existed before the north wall of the nave took its present form. As the North Chamber stands centrally on the axis of the Triple Gate and, like it, existed before the church, it probably belongs to the same period.

We do not know how much further to the south the North Chamber originally extended. There are two doorways and a niche in its west wall and another doorway in the east wall. The difference in level between the east doorway and the adjacent doorway to the nave makes it very unlikely that both were used at the same time. More probably the east doorway was walled up when the nave took its present form and the North Chamber belonged at that time to House E, being entered from the room which lies to the west of it.

Summarising our description of the western half of the church: it appears that the nave was formed by the re-modelling of walls belonging to two earlier buildings. The first of these, the Triple Gate, was adapted to form an entrance to the nave and part of a colonnade along its south side. The second set of pre-existing walls to be incorporated in the nave are its west wall and the western extremity of its north wall. These walls were part of House C and it follows that, before being incorporated in the church, the Triple Gate already formed part of House C.

While the western half of the church is made up of earlier walls re-modelled, the eastern half seems all to have been built at one time and for the special purpose of the church.

On the east side of the Triple Gate the south wall of the nave has the same thickness as the Triple Gate wall, but is differently coursed (pl. XLIX, *a* and pl. XV, *a*). Quite close to the Triple Gate it is pierced by a rebated doorway, the lintel of which is a re-used stone, bearing a portion of a Nabatean inscription.[10] The remains of a window are still visible at a high level in the wall, above the eastern extremity of the colonnade. It is probable that a series of such windows extended the whole length of the nave forming the principal illumination of the church. To the east of the doorway with the Nabatean inscription the colonnade ends at a transverse archway. The arch has entirely collapsed but is identifiable from the scar of its

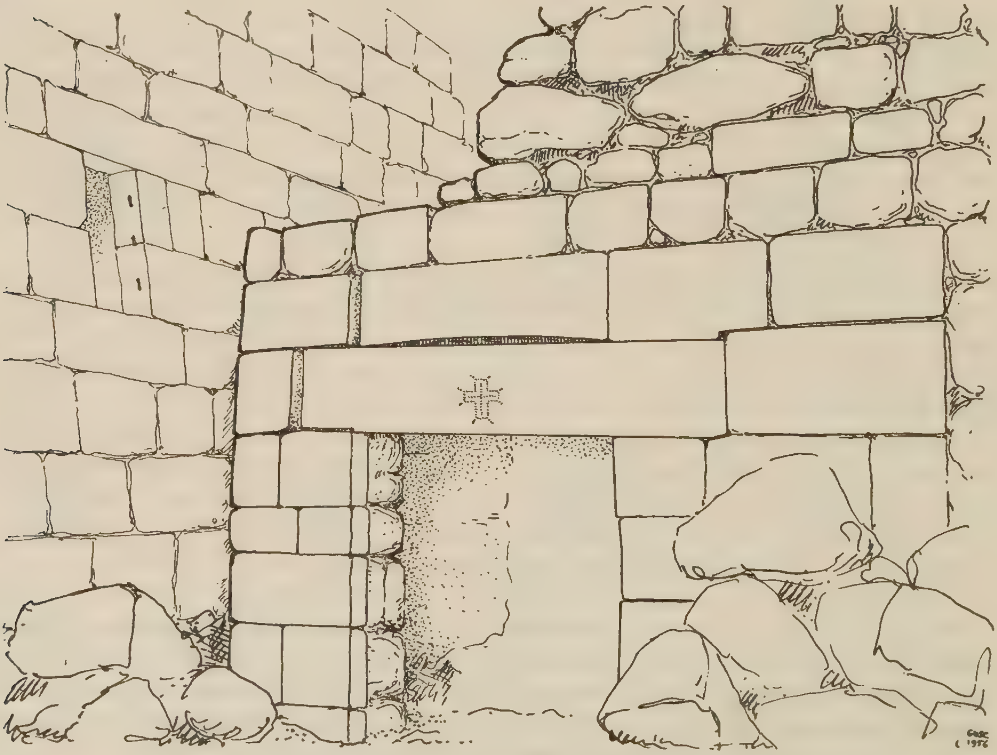


Fig. 10. Julianos' Church: the East entrance

northern abutment, and from one or two voussoirs which lie in the debris. The south abutment of the arch is an extension of the west wall of House B. The archway led into the chamber called the South Vestibule, and thence eastward to the open ground outside the insula, through a tall and broad doorway which was the principal entrance to the church (fig. 10 and pl. XLIX, *b*).

---

[10] Princeton, IV, A, no. 42.

The wall forming the east side of the South Vestibule, through which this entrance doorway passes, is quite separate from the adjacent north wall of Barn B and must be secondary to it. It is, however, fully bonded with the south wall of the nave, and also with the south abutment of the great cross-arch which spanned the church and formed the eastern termination of the nave. While the interior of the South Vestibule is very roughly finished (it was certainly plastered inside), the eastern façade of the main entrance doorway is made of finely-tooled blocks. The monolithic lintel is surmounted by a slightly concave relieving stone. The cross on the east face of the lintel is rather crudely executed and not quite in the middle. It gives the impression of having been carved when the lintel was already in position.

A close examination of the inside (north) face of the nave south wall leaves no doubt at all that the Princeton publication is wrong in showing the nave traversed by a series of cross-arches supporting a stone roof. The wall is here exposed for nearly its full height and for more than a third of its total length without the faintest trace of any cross-arch abutment except one single great arch at the east end of the nave. The walls must certainly have supported a timber roof.

The eastern cross-arch is supported on rectangular piers of smoothly tooled basalt (seemingly re-used stones) which are decorated with a simple cornice at the springing of the arch. The pier on the south side is intact (fig. 11), and still carries the first two voussoirs of the arch, but the northern pier has vanished. The very considerable thrusts of the cross-arch were contained by the east walls of the North and South Vestibules, but whereas the South Vestibule wall is continuous and of one build with the south pier, the North Vestibule wall was separated from the north pier by a vertical joint. Nevertheless the North Vestibule cannot be later than the cross-arch because the latter could hardly have remained standing without the vestibule wall to buttress it. The north and east walls of the vestibule are bonded together at the angle.

A window-sill in the eastern wall of the North Vestibule shows where one of its windows existed. The stone ceiling was supported on corbels projecting from the end walls and on two cross-arches which divide the chamber into three bays. Neither of the cross-arches survives, but their positions are shown by low piers. A doorway in the centre of the north wall communicates with the open ground on the north side of the church, and another doorway in the opposite wall leads into the church nave. Facing it, on the north side of the vestibule there is a small stone-built cupboard, decorated with a cross in a circle (fig. 12).

The doorway which leads into the nave from the North Vestibule is intact for about three-quarters of its height, and we found its lintel lying in the debris beside it; a large well-tooled block of basalt, decorated with a cross in a circle, exactly similar to the one which appears in fig. 12. Both lintel and threshold-stone have mortices for the fixture of twin wooden door-leaves, and inside the doorway there is a single step of roughly-quarried stones, formerly coated with plaster, leading down

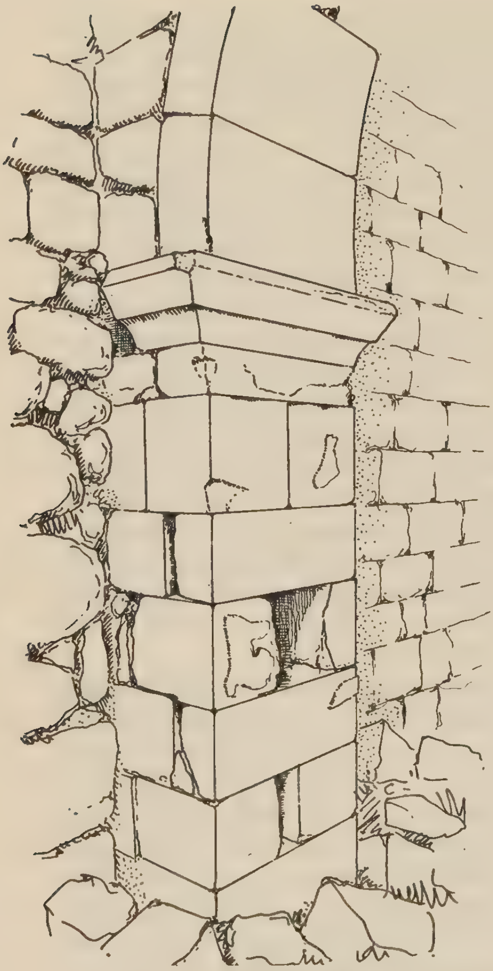


Fig. 11. Julianos' Church: the South Pier of the Nave Cross-Arch

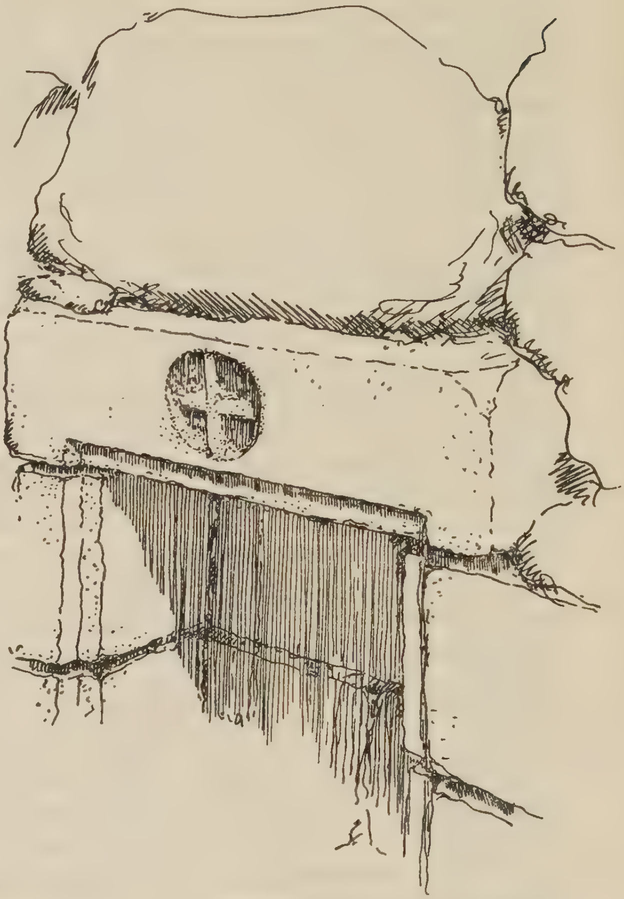


Fig. 12. Julianos' Church: Cupboard

to the floor of the nave (fig. 13). Here we discovered a few tesserae of a mosaic pavement, held in position by some fragments of a secondary plaster floor which must have been laid on top of the mosaic at a time when the latter was almost entirely destroyed. The plasterers who laid the second floor were too lazy to remove the remaining tesserae of the original pavement and merely spread their plaster on top of them. About a dozen cubes were recovered. Most were white, but two red and one green showed that the pavement had some sort of pattern.

The apse lies immediately to the east of the nave cross-arch, and, although the two are not bonded together, we may be reasonably sure that an apse was built at the same time as the arch because the smoothly-worked facing-stones of the east doorway and the adjacent cross-arch pier give place to rougher blocks at the point where the apse-wall abuts. The outside face of the apse-wall is built of smoothly-tooled blocks, apparently re-used as the surface of each block is flat instead of cylindrical. The inner wall-face is very rough and must have been plastered.[11] Three horizontal bands of header-stones bind the inner and outer wall-faces together, and the topmost band is corbelled forward to support a horizontal stone-slab roof. The corbels are roughly dressed, with none of the careful workmanship which we saw in the corbel-stones of the barn of House B. About half-way between the chord of the apse and its apex, the semi-circular presbytery was awkwardly traversed by a cross-arch, lower in level than the main east arch of the nave.[12] This arch was evidently designed to give intermediate support to a stone-slab ceiling over the sanctuary. However, as the main nave arch rose to a much higher level than the corbel-stones at the top of the apse wall, it appears that the stone ceiling of the sanctuary was in two levels; the part between the intermediate cross-arch and

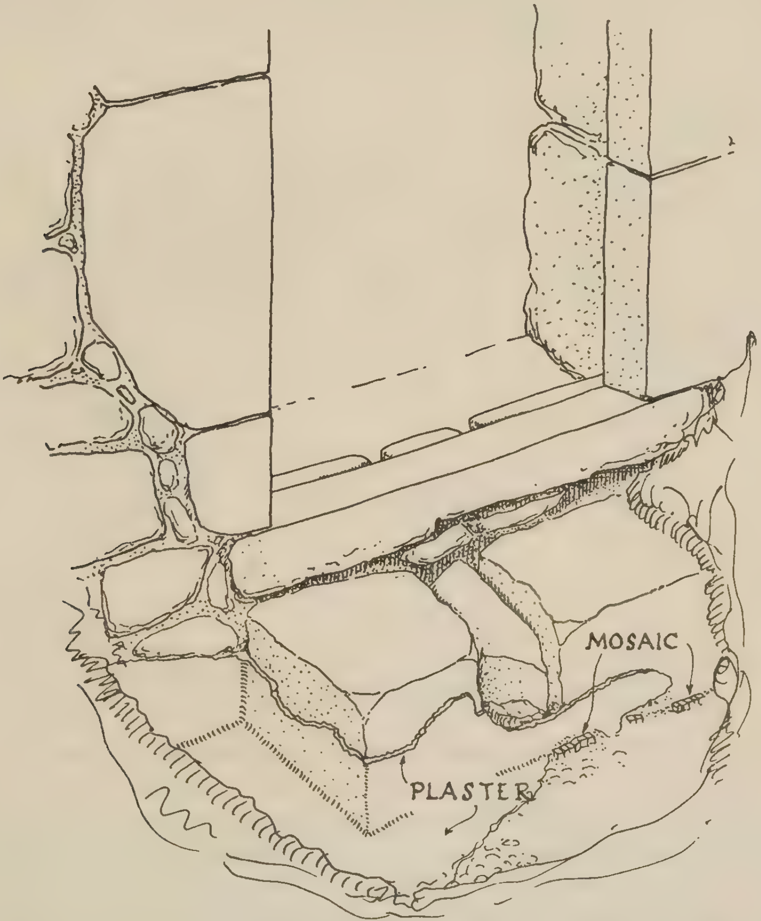


Fig. 13. Julianos' Church: North Doorway to the Nave, seen from the South

---

[11] An inscription on one of the stones (Princeton, III, no. 236) must have been hidden by the plaster. Presumably it is a re-used stone.

[12] In the drawing of the church published by the Princeton Expedition these two arches are mistakenly interchanged (cf. Princeton, II, A, Illustration 147 on p. 175).

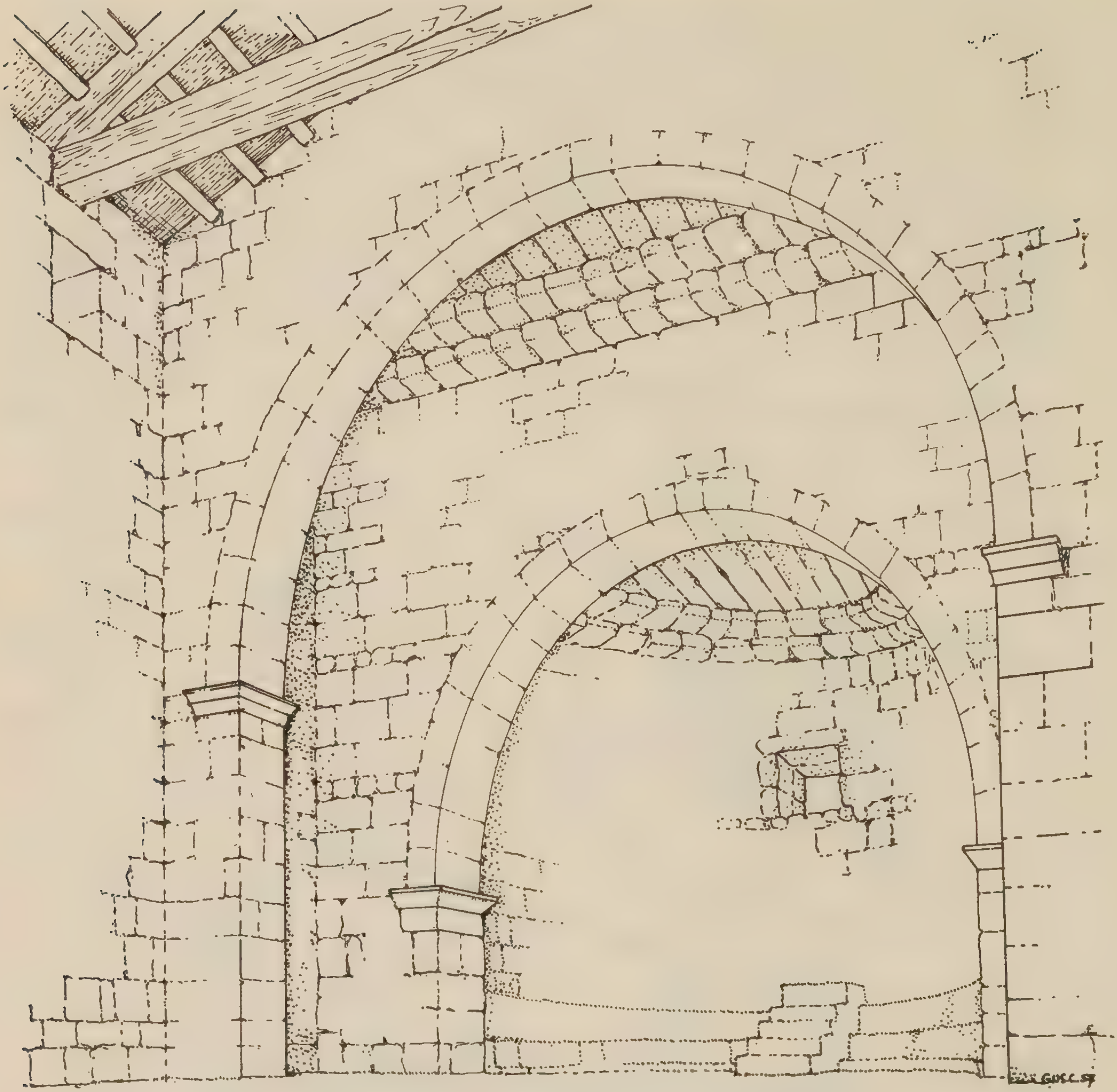


Fig. 14. Julianos' Church: Reconstruction of the Apse

the curved rear wall being at the level of the corbel-stones while the part between the two cross-arches was above the crown of the higher arch (fig. 14). This awkward arrangement confirms the theory, advanced at the beginning of this paper, that the builders of Umm-el-Jemal used their cross-arch and corbel construction as a substitute for vaulting, and not as a substitute for timber. For while they were content to cover the nave with a timber roof they felt that the apse ought to be roofed in stone, and they provided the kind of stone roof that they best knew how to build.

A small excavation in the debris which chokes the apse revealed a curved presbyters' bench of two tiers above a foot-stone, and a central bishop's throne with four steps and a raised seat (pl. XVI, *a*). The roughly-finished masonry of the synthronon was concealed under two coats of plaster. The fourth step of the throne was found to be a re-used block incised with half of a Latin inscription enclosed in a *tabella ansata*. The inscription can be seen in the photograph still forming part of the throne, and half hidden by plaster. Luckily the other half of the inscription had been used elsewhere in the church and was found lying on the floor of the nave, close to the chord of the apse, and about 2 metres north of the south wall. The two halves of the broken stone were placed together (pl. XVI, *b*) and a note by Miss Joyce Reynolds on the complete inscription is appended (p. 65).

The great mass of collapsed masonry made it impossible for us to clear the whole of the Presbyterium, but a trench in the eastern part of the nave disclosed the remains of a chancel-screen. It stood on top of a single step of basalt (fig. 15) which raised the presbytery floor 14 cms. above the general level of the nave. Rectangular mortices in the surface of the basalt step received the bases of a row of Proconnesian marble chancel-posts, which were cemented in position with white gypsum morter. Parts of two marble chancel-posts were found in the debris, and also fragments of marble transenna-slabs and top-rails (fig. 16). It will be seen that the transenna fragments differ in cross-section from the groove in the side of the chancel-post, and it appears that the various members of the screen are a miscellaneous collection, and probably used at second hand. The rough masonry of the synthronon, its crudely plastered surface and the poor and miscellaneous character of the marble chancel-screen all suggest that the sanctuary fittings belong to a secondary period; probably the same period as is represented by the secondary plaster floor-covering at the north doorway.

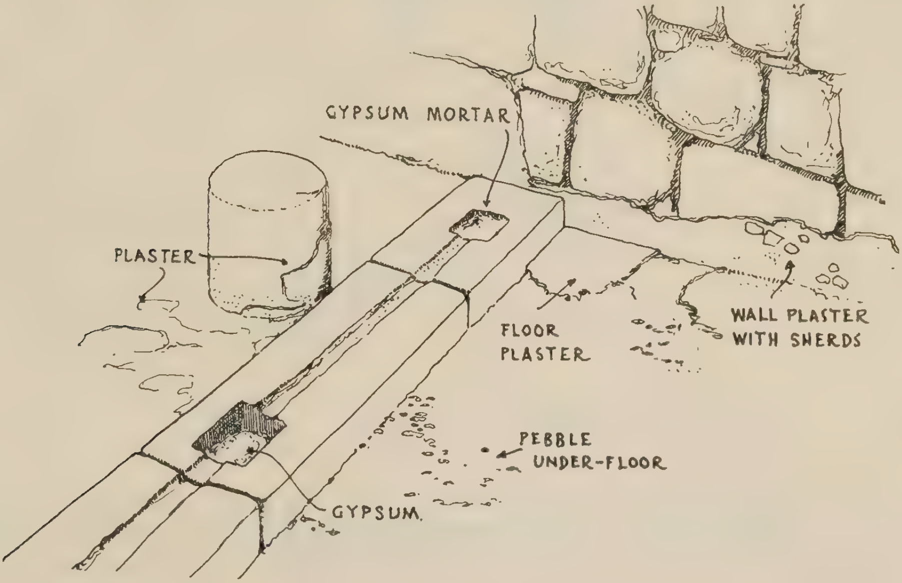


Fig. 15. Julianos' Church: Basalt Chancel-Step with Mortices for Chancel-Screen

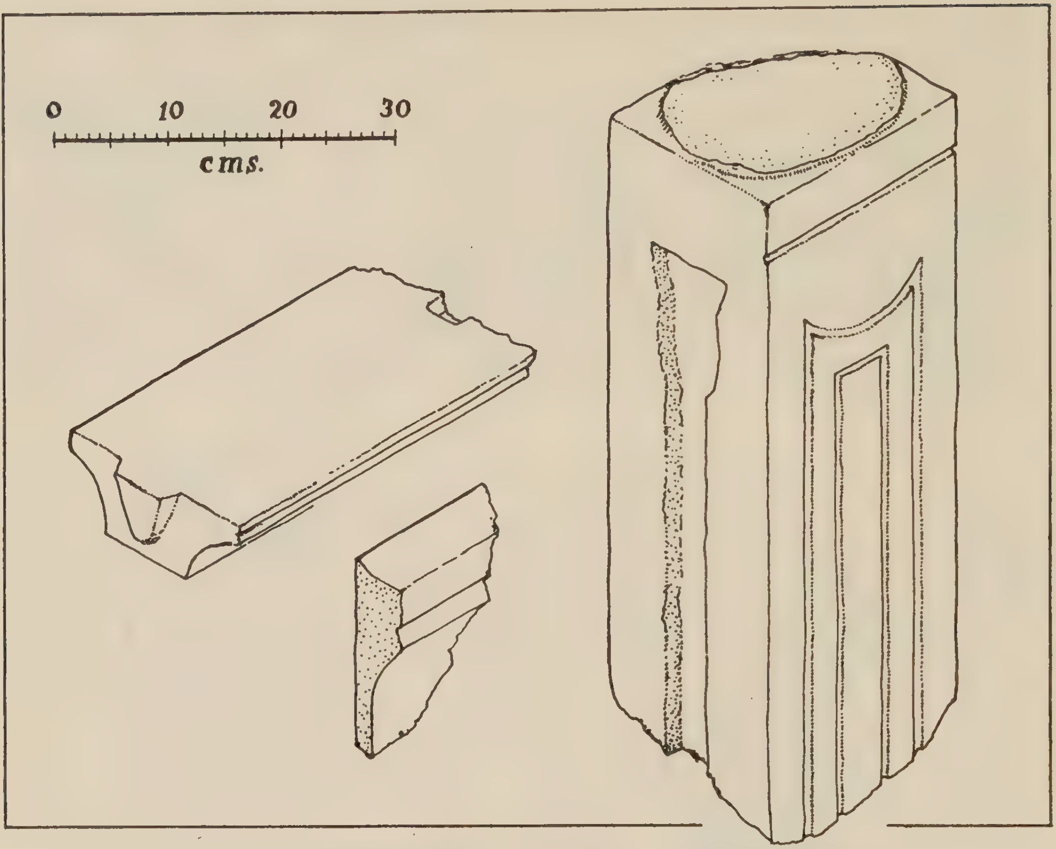


FIG. 16. JULIANOS' CHURCH: FRAGMENTS OF CHANCEL-SCREEN

Immediately behind the chancel-screen, near the south wall of the nave, a cylindrical basalt drum was found *in situ* with part of its plaster covering still intact. The purpose of this drum is not known, but it may perhaps have supported a reading-desk.

The floor on both sides of the chancel-step was covered with plaster. The original mosaic has disappeared, but the bedding of pebbles 20 cms. thick, which lay underneath the plaster floor, may have belonged originally to the mosaic pavement. When first excavated, the plaster floor was seen to be washed over with a reddish paint.

Another sounding was made in the western part of the nave. Again the original floor-mosaics have disappeared but the sub-structure of pebbles and traces of the secondary plaster floor survive. At one point near the west end of the trench a small section of mosaic under-plaster was found, still bearing the impression of tesserae, but as no tesserae at all came to light it appears that these impressions must have been preserved by the secondary plaster surface.

The footing-stones of a second chancel-screen were found in the western part of the nave, crossing the church from north to south in a line which nearly corresponds with the western pier of the Triple Gate (fig. 17). The level of the nave

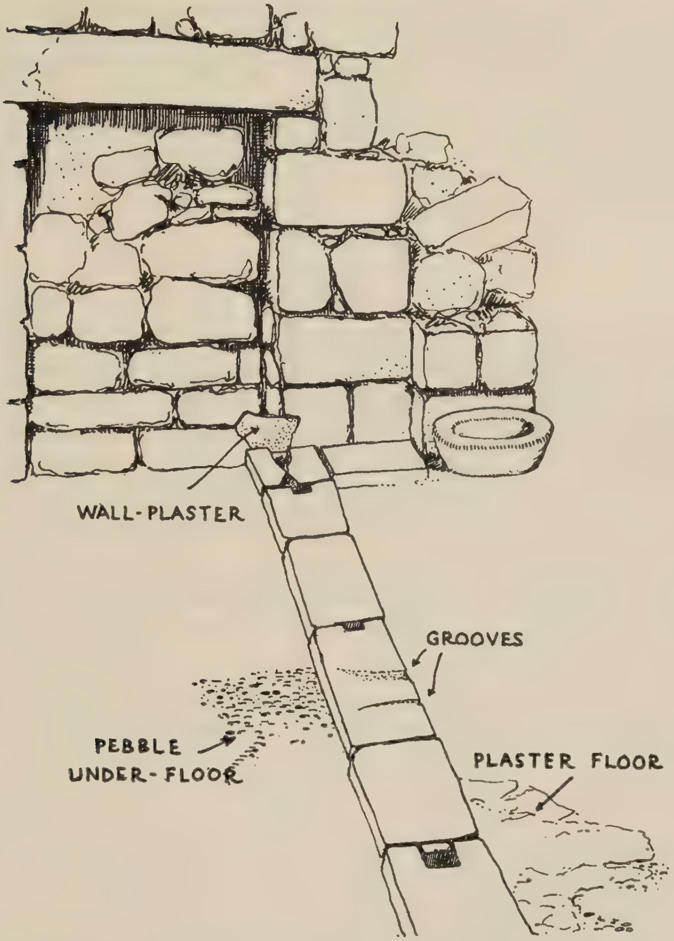


FIG. 17. JULIANOS' CHURCH: FOOTING-STONES OF CHANCEL-SCREEN AT THE WEST OF THE NAVE

floor was the same on either side of this footing. It consisted of a line of rectangular blocks 30–35 cms. broad, standing 15 cms. above the floor level. Small sockets let into the stones at intervals of 135 cms. evidently supported the upright posts of a screen, and their small size (approximately 10 × 10 cms.) shows that this screen was not of marble, but of metal or wood. Two arc-shaped grooves running transversely across one of the footing-stones seem to have been caused by dragging gate-bolts and indicate the existence of a gated opening.

At its south end, the footing impinges on the blocked side-opening of the Triple Gate. It then turns westwards and passes under a large basin of hewn basalt standing against the pilaster which marks the western extremity of the Triple Gate (see p. 51).

Although a chancel-screen at the opposite end of a church to the sanctuary is an uncommon feature in church architecture, comparable examples are not altogether lacking. For instance there seems to have been one at Kapljuč in Salona,[13] and another may have occurred in the large basilica at Apollonia, where a wall crosses the nave at a distance of 10 metres from the west end.[14] It is likely that the west chancel-screen at Umm-el-Jemal fenced off the catechumens' part of the nave, eastwards of which only the baptised were admitted. The railing which probably existed in the earliest basilica at Aquileia, separating the oratorium from an adjacent chamber,[15] may have had a similar purpose.

D. ANALYSIS

In analysing the sequence of construction of the buildings which have been described, it seems evident that the Triple Gate was the first to be built. Its symmetrical design and the absence of rebates in its original openings prove that the building to which it belonged was monumental rather than domestic in character. While it is possible that a monumental structure might, in time, be incorporated in the walls of a domestic building (such as House C undoubtedly was) the converse is scarcely credible; no such monument could ever have been constructed inside the courtyard of a small private house.

The original purpose of the Triple Gate is not known. It may possibly have been part of a temple. The three entrances and the portico suggest as much, and the fact that it is not orientated need be no objection to the hypothesis, since other Nabatean temples in the district are also un-orientated. Indeed, it would not be the only pagan temple at Umm-el-Jemal to be subsequently incorporated in domestic buildings. The Princeton Expedition records one in the south-west quarter of the town which was likewise destined to become part of a dwelling house.[16]

The attractive hypothesis that this Triple Gate and its columned portico was originally the entrance to a secret church, hidden inside House C, must be rejected when we consider that a church nave is essentially a closed building while our Triple Gate in its original form was not provided with doors, but had only un-rebated openings. Another hypothesis, that the Triple Gate was the gateway to the cemetery, mentioned in the "Julianos" inscription,[17] must also be rejected. It is hardly credible that in A.D. 344 the Christian community of a small town like Umm-el-Jemal would have possessed a *campo santo* with a monumental gateway; moreover, if the Triple Gate had been the entrance to a cemetery we would have to explain the subsequent encroachment of House C on a necropolis.

We thus conclude that the Triple Gate remains from some earlier building of monumental character, possibly a temple, which the builders of House C found convenient to incorporate in the north side of their courtyard.

---

[13] Dyggve; *Recherches à Salone*, p. 185, fig. 244.

[14] Romanelli; *Atti del IV Congresso di Archeologia Cristiana* (*Vatican*, 1938), Vol. I, p. 277.

[15] Cecchelli, in *La Basilica di Aquileia* (Bologna, 1933), p. 155, cit. Gnirs; *Jahrbuch d. kunsthist. Inst.*, 1915, p. 44.

[16] Princeton, II, A, p. 155.

[17] "This is the memorial of Julianos, weighed down with long sleep, for whom Agathus his father built it, shedding a tear, hard by the bounds of the public cemetery of the people of Christ, to the end that the better folk might for ever sing his praises publicly, as being aforetime a trusty son to Agathus, the presbyter, and well beloved, being twelve years old. In the year 239" (A.D. 344)—Princeton, III, no. 262.

House C was of course originally larger than now appears, for the rooms on the north side of its courtyard were subsequently removed to make way for the church nave. The former existence of these northern chambers is proved by the asymmetry of the small windows in the west wall of the nave. They can hardly have been built as part of the church and we therefore assume that they originally illuminated rooms in House C.

The last major phase of construction in the insula was the conversion of the northern part of House C into a church nave. The south nave wall from the Triple Gate to the springing of the apse is clearly of one continuous build and is fully bonded with the south pier of the nave cross-arch and the wall which closes the east end of the colonnade. The north pier of the cross-arch obviously belongs to the same phase of construction as the south one, and this brings the east wall of the North Vestibule into the same building programme because (even though it is not bonded with the pier) a wall is essential at this point to sustain the northward thrust of the cross-arch. The east wall of the vestibule carries the north wall with it, since the north-east angle is perfectly bonded, and the north wall of the nave naturally follows it into the same building-phase.

We thus find that the walls of the whole eastern part of the nave and of the North and South Vestibules were all built at one time even though different techniques of masonry and un-bonded vertical junctions seem at first to show the contrary.

The wall of the apse is different in appearance from the other walls in the eastern part of the nave. It is slightly thicker and its coursing is interrupted at various levels by horizontal bands of header-stones apparently meant to bond the inner and outer wall-faces together; a technique which is not found elsewhere in the insula. Nevertheless, these differences do not necessarily betoken a difference in date. There must always have been an apse, for the great cross-arch of the nave cannot have opened out into space. It seems likely that the differences in structure are due to the fact that one is curved while the others are straight. The masons may have made their apse wall thicker and more elaborately bonded than the others with the idea of increasing its strength. If so, this indicates that they were unused to building apse walls, since their misgivings were in reality entirely unfounded; an apsidal wall being actually stronger than a straight one of the same thickness. This seeming ignorance may help us to assign the building to its proper historical place. Most other churches in Umm-el-Jemal have apses, and the local builders cannot have remained ignorant of an apse's inherent strength for long. It therefore seems likely that the apse of Julianos' Church was one of the first to be built in the region.

The crudely built presbyters' bench and bishop's throne are evidently later insertions. The rough stonework concealed by plaster is similar in technique to the step at the north doorway (fig. 13), which is certainly much later in date than the mosaic pavement which it overlaps. A mosaic floor is unlikely to wear out in less than a hundred years, so we can be fairly sure that the plaster-covered step is at least a century later than the building of the eastern half of the nave. The bench and throne are probably of the same period.

E. DATE

Butler deduced that the church was an early one from the simplicity of its barn-like plan,[18] and Lassus came to the same conclusion from the house-like nature of the complex, which survives from the time when churches and private houses were one and the same thing.[19] Lassus' theory is in no way weakened by our showing in the foregoing pages that the house-like character is partly due to the fact that the church actually incorporates portions of an earlier dwelling. These demonstrations of an early date for the church are now reinforced by our finding that the construction of the apse presented an unaccustomed problem to the local masons. It seems that the church must have been one of the earliest to be built in Umm-el-Jemal, if not the very first.

But while the relative sequence of building is determined with some certainty, the actual date is more problematical. The dated memorial tablet to Julianos, which the Princeton Expedition found lying on the ground near the main entrance to the nave, is most unlikely to refer to the building of the church. We could not find the stone itself, but the Princeton Report gives its dimensions as 158 cms. long by 34½ cms. high. The thickness was not recorded. H. C. Butler believed that the inscription recorded the foundation of the church and decorated the lintel of the main doorway; but this must be a mistake since the door-lintel is actually *in situ* and bears no inscription. The lettering cannot have been carved on the missing lintel of the original Triple Gate because the opening was 214 cms. wide and its lintel must have been nearly twice as long as the stone recorded in the Princeton Report. Nor is the inscription likely to have occupied a place above the lintel of the secondary doorway, between the piers of the Triple Gate. It is too short and there would have been gaps 28 cms. wide between the ends of the inscribed block and the gate piers on either side. These difficulties, added to others already admitted by Butler, leave little support for the theory that the inscription refers to the foundation of the church. As Lassus has observed[20] it is more likely that the inscribed stone was brought from some ransacked cemetery, and our discovery of another inscription of about the same date, probably funerary,[21] which was certainly re-used in repair work to the church, provides further support for the opinion. Thus we cannot hope for any help from the Julianos inscription in the problem of the church's date.

A hint as to the date may be offered by the crosses over some of the doorways. Some idea of the date when crosses began to be incised over doorways in Syria can be obtained from a few specimens which are accompanied by dated inscriptions. The first positively dated lintel with a cross that we know in Southern Syria comes from Djemerrin and bears the date A.D. 414.[22] Thenceforward dated lintels with crosses appear in fairly steady sequence, as follows:—Melah-es-Sarrar—A.D. 425, Damit-el-Alya—A.D. 432, Sur—A.D. 458.[23] Northern Syria produces dated cross-lintels earlier and more plentifully. The first is from Dar Kita (A.D. 350) and thereafter the sequence runs:—Babiska—A.D. 352, Dar Kita—A.D. 355, Ksedjbeh—A.D. 359, Batuta—A.D. 363 (?), Farfirtin—A.D. 372.[24]

---

[18] Princeton, II, A, pp. 172–173.

[19] Jean Lassus, *Les Sanctuaires Chrétiens de Syrie*, p. 26.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 191.

[21] Below, p. 65.

[22] Princeton, III, no. 603 and dated inscriptions listed on p. 485.

[23] *Ibid.*, nos. 717, 800 and 797(3) respectively.

[24] *Ibid.*, nos. 1074, 1093, 1075, 1091, 1201 and 1199, respectively.

This meagre evidence suggests that lintels with crosses were not used in Southern Syria before the beginning of the fifth century, although they were seen half a century earlier in the north. As the cross-lintels in the North Vestibule of our church belong integrally to the masonry of the eastern half of the nave this suggests that the church took its present form not earlier than A.D. 400. However, the evidence is of the most uncertain nature and its value must not be over-estimated.

If we are right in assigning the building of our church to the early years of the fifth century and, at the same time, in deducing that it was one of the first specially-built churches in Umm-el-Jemal, it follows that the Christian community which (as recorded in Julianos' memorial inscription) possessed a public cemetery there in the year A.D. 344 must have worshipped in some other place. What that place was can only be conjectured; but two facts may be worth noticing. Our church was built within the framework of a dwelling house, and that dwelling incorporated the remains of a disused monumental structure. One way of explaining these two facts is to suppose that House C incorporated not only a Triple Gate, but also some large chamber to which the Triple Gate gave access. It may be that the Christian community used to meet in this chamber. When the community outgrew its original home it would be natural to enlarge it by adding the walls which now form the eastern part of the nave, and demolishing the lateral walls of the former hall. We cannot be sure that this is what happened, but at least it seems to be a reasonable explanation of the known facts.

G. U. S. Corbett

NOTE ON THE INSCRIPTION OF FLAVIUS LUCIANUS

Rectangular block of coarse dark grey basalt (*c.* 1.30 × 0.295 × 0.18 metres), broken in two, the bottom edge chipped along the whole length, both halves chipped alongside the break, and the lower right corner broken away; inscribed on one face within a sunk *tabella ansata* (pl. XVI, *b*).

It is clear that the text was drafted by a man of only moderate latinity and cut by a careless workman whose familiarity with the Latin alphabet was limited. The errors in grammar and spelling are obvious. The alphabetic lapses include P for R at line 3 letter 14, and something barely distinguishable from Γ for T at line 4 letter 7. They suggest that in line 1 letter 12 might be intended for R, and in line 2 letters 14 ff. for TRIB MIL. On this basis the text could be interpreted as follows :—

Fl(auius) Lucianus Pṛeiụis fili(us) pop(u)
li Sthacensia[n]i triḅ(unus) mi[l](itum)
militante inṭer scutarios
D(omini) N(ostri) Constant[i] ani XXV

Although the text contains no funerary formulae it is probably an epitaph, like those on two other inscribed stones found re-used in this church.[25]

---

[25] Princeton, III, nos. 236 and 262.

Flavius Lucianus had served for 25 years in a unit of *scutarii* attached to the person of Constantius II.[26] Constantius became Caesar in November 324 and died in November 361, so that the terminal date of Lucianus' service lies between November 349 and November 361. If he really was a *tribunus*, he was a man of some position.[27]

His origins are difficult to disentangle. His father's name is very uncertainly read—Pṛeiṇis would be a possible alternative; but neither this nor Pṛeiṿis seem to be paralleled. Nor have I been able to identify the name of his tribe.[28]

J. M. Reynolds

---

[26] For the *scutarii* see Pauly-Wissowa, Vol. II, A, cols. 621–624.

[27] The title of a military officer at this date is normally *tribunus* simply. Possibly MIΛ here is an uncancelled error of the cutter—an abandoned attempt at the word *militante* which follows.

[28] See Pauly-Wissowa *loc. cit.* It seems to be generally held that the *scutarii* of this date were largely recruited in Germany.

THE ANCIENT ROAD SYSTEMS OF THE CENTRAL AND NORTHERN AGER FALISCUS

(NOTES ON SOUTHERN ETRURIA, 2)

(Plates XVII–XLVII)

	PAGE
Introduction	67
The Via Amerina	73
Falerii Veteres (Civita Castellana)	128
Roads leading west and north from Falerii Veteres	136
Roads radiating from Falerii Novi	155
Roads in the northern Ager Faliscus	162
Roads to the west of the Via Amerina	179
The successive road-systems	183
Appendix.	197
Notes on the plates	198

I. INTRODUCTION

The modern Via Cassia, now as in antiquity the great arterial road up through the heart of south-eastern Etruria, after crossing the Fosso dell'Olgiata less than a kilometre to the west of the north-western gate of Veii, climbs steadily for about 7 km. to cross the Monti Sabatini, the line of extinct volcanic craters that runs eastwards from Lake Bracciano, forming a natural northern boundary to the Roman Campagna. After cutting through the southern crest of the crater of Baccano, with its magnificent views southwards and eastwards over Rome towards Tivoli, Palestrina and the Alban Hills, the road drops into the crater, skirts round the east side of the former lake, and climbs again to the far rim, before dropping once more into the head of the Treia basin, on its way to Monterosi and Sutri.

From this vantage-point a whole new landscape is spread out before one (pl. XLVII). To the west and north-west, the tangle of volcanic hills that forms the northern limit of the Monti Sabatini, rising at its highest point to the conical peak of Monte Rocca Romana (612 m.); beyond and to the right of those, past Monterosi and filling the whole of the north-western horizon, some 10-15 km. distant, the spreading bulk of Monte Cimino (1053 m.), with its characteristically volcanic, twin-peaked profile; to the north and north-east, the gently rolling woods and fields of the Faliscan plain, deceptively smooth, stretching away to the distant Tiber. The Tiber itself is not visible; but beyond it can be seen, far to the north, the shadowy hills of southern Umbria, beyond Orte; to the north-east the mountains and hill-villages of the northern Sabina, and the towering heights of Monte Terminillo (2213 m.); and to the east, a rocky island rising sheer out of the plain, the sharp-cut profile of Monte Soracte (691 m.). It is worth while pausing to view this spacious landscape, for it comprises almost the whole of the territory occupied by the ancient

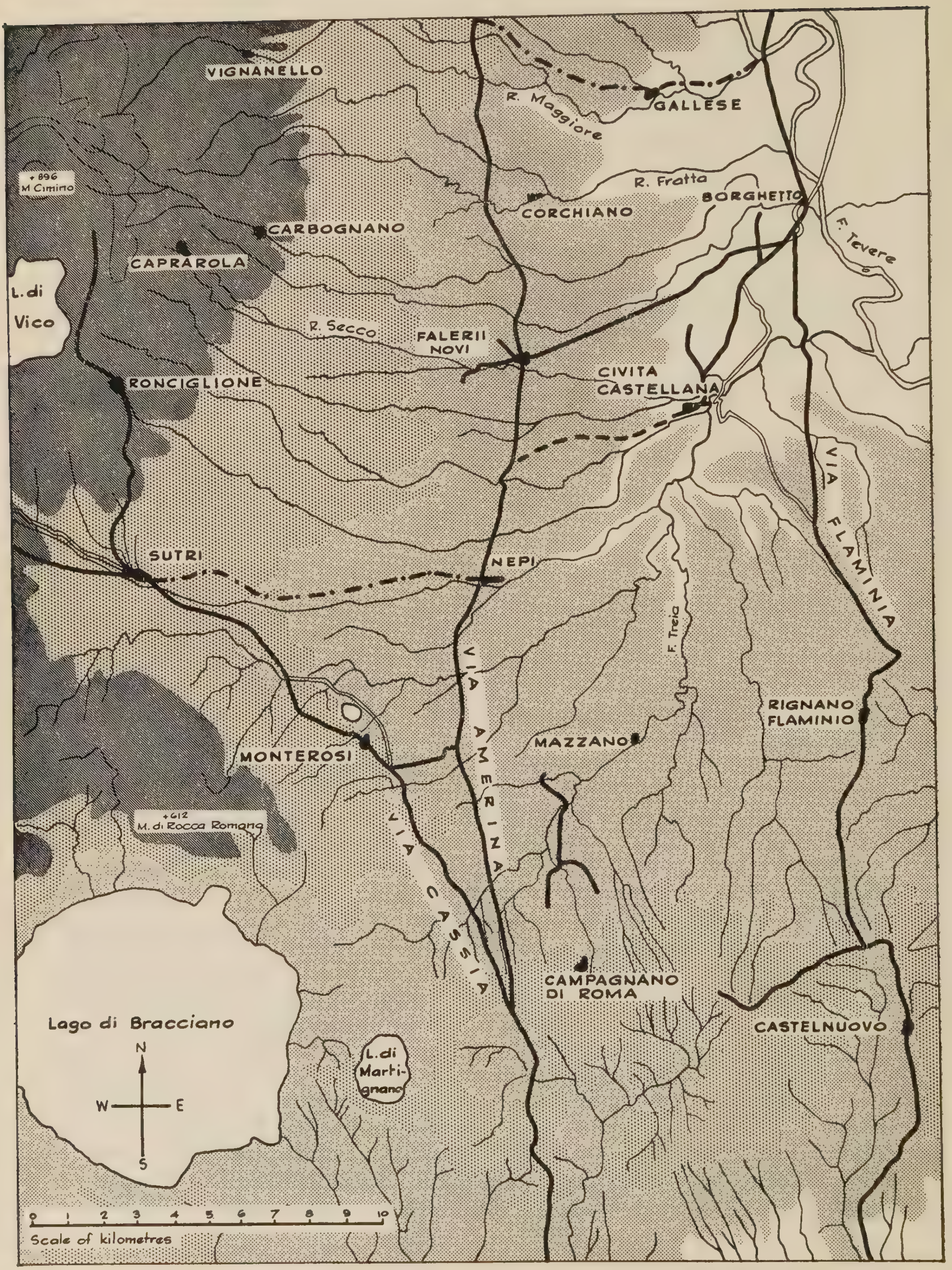


FIG. 1.—THE AGER FALISCUS AND ITS PRINCIPAL ROMAN ROADS

Falisci, and it explains at a glance their continued existence as an independent unit within the loosely-knit Etruscan community. Its boundaries are firmly established by nature. To the east and north-east the Tiber, although in many respects a link between the peoples on its two banks, at all times formed a convenient and well-defined political boundary. To the north-west, the name of Monte Cimino preserves that of the Ciminian Forest, which seems to have been regarded in Etruscan times as an almost impenetrable barrier. To the west and south, the Monti Sabatini, although affording fairly easy passage at a number of points, were nevertheless a substantial natural boundary in the direction of Veii and the hinterland of Caere (Cerveteri). At two points only did this clearly-defined territory merge with its neighbours: to the north, between the steep north-eastern slopes of Monte Cimino and the river, a district which today lies off the main roads, but which was thickly inhabited in antiquity; and to the south-east, into the tangle of wooded valleys that runs down to the east of the Via Flaminia, past Soracte and Capena, almost to the gates of Rome.

How far this region may have corresponded with the actual political boundaries of the Falisci at any given period, we have no means of telling. Apart from Falerii Veteres (Civita Castellana) and Monte Soracte, the only site that is specifically stated by the classical sources to have been Faliscan is Fescennium; and the precise location of Fescennium is one of the most disputed topics of ancient topography. The archaeological evidence, on the other hand, although it awaits detailed treatment, does seem clearly to indicate an Iron Age culture that was substantially uniform over the whole territory, while differing in many respects from that of the neighbouring territories to the west and south. This can only have been that of the historical Falisci, a people which spoke a Latin dialect and which lay outside Etruria in the strictest sense of the term, although, like Rome, it early passed (and, unlike Rome, remained) within the Etruscan orbit.

If the facts of geography were important in shaping the limits of Faliscan settlement, they were no less important in determining its internal physiognomy. Except on its extreme south-eastern fringes, the whole of the southern Ager Faliscus drains into a single river, the Treia, which in turn flows into the Tiber just east of Civita Castellana; north of Civita Castellana a series of individual streams cut parallel courses from west to east, discharging directly into the Tiber. These rivers and their tributaries have a significance quite out of relation to their size. With the solitary exception of Monte Soracte, an isolated outlier of the main Apennine range, this is all country that is, geographically speaking, very recent. Apart from the extensive gravels of the lower Treia, almost the entire configuration of the country is the result of the erosion, still very active, of the various volcanic deposits of which it is almost entirely composed. Deep erosion-gullies seam the hillsides, and the river-valleys into which they drain have cut their way down sharply through the horizontal bedding of the tufa to form the sheer, cliff-bounded gorges that are so impressive a feature of the country around Civita Castellana. Along the southern boundary of the territory the headwater drainage-gullies drop straight into deep valleys, and the normal lines of communication south and east of the Treia all run north and south; north of the modern road from Morlupo to Campagnano, which follows the crest of the watershed and for most of its length coincides with the Roman road linking Capena with Campagnano and the Via Cassia, there is no road from east to west before one reaches Civita Castellana itself. The northern tributaries of the Treia, on the other hand, and the streams to the north of the Treia basin all run east and west, and form an equally decisive obstacle to cross-traffic from north to south. Along the western edge of the territory, west of a line running from Campagnano to Nepi, the situation is rather different. Here, as along the southern fringe of the Monti Sabatini, shelves of harder rock have resisted the efforts of erosion, and the streams pick their way through shallow and often rather marshy valleys, before plunging through to form the precipitous gorges of the main Treia system. Anybody wishing to travel from north to south across Faliscan territory had really only two practical alternatives—either to pass to the east of Civita Castellana, making a single crossing of the Treia below the junction of its many tributaries and then heading for the Tiber valley at Borghetto, or else to keep to the west of Nepi, skirting the head of the Treia gorges. With the first of these alternatives, which was that adopted by the builders of the Via Flaminia, we are not here directly concerned. The second, on the other hand, was probably the most important single factor in determining the pattern of settlement within that part of the Faliscan territory which is the subject of these notes, since through this narrow strip of country ran the only easy routes up into central Etruria and western Umbria. Cities such as Nepi and Sutri were destined from their foundation to play an important part in the troubled politics of central Italy.

The notes that follow cover a part only of the territory of the Falisci, and that only in certain limited aspects. They are little more than a progress report on the current programme of survey undertaken in Southern Etruria by the British School,[1] and they are intended primarily to serve as a repertory of archaeological observation within an area that is rapidly undergoing radical and, archaeologically speaking, often disastrous transformation. The day before these words were written we learned that a project has been approved to reopen the ancient road from Settevene to Nepi, and that work is to begin forthwith; it is hard to believe that a great deal of what we have recorded will not shortly disappear for ever. Rather than continue to accumulate material for an exhaustive study of the whole region, it has seemed worth while to present the material already collected, concentrating upon certain features which may serve as a guide and stimulus to further study.

Geographically, we have, for the present, excluded from consideration all country to the south and east of the Treia, to the east of Civita Castellana and to the north of the road that runs east and west through Gallese; and within the area so defined, corresponding approximately with the central and northern Ager Faliscus, we have concentrated our attention primarily on the network of roads linking the major ancient sites. The destruction of Falerii Veteres in 241 B.C. and the foundation of Falerii Novi 5 km. to the west, followed by the abandonment of the latter during the early Middle Ages and the re-establishment of Falerii Veteres as Civita Castellana, have meant the preservation of many early features that continuous occupation has elsewhere obliterated, and at the same time they make this an ideal ground for distinguishing the work of successive periods.

---

[1] Undertaken with the help of a generous grant from the T. W. Greene Fund of Oxford University, made through the Craven Committee.

As in the case of the previous report in this series,[2] the pages that follow represent the work of many hands and heads—and feet. The surveys of Ponte Nepesino and of Torre dell'Isola and the accompanying report are the work of Mr. and Mrs. Michael Gough. The bulk of the remaining maps and plans have been prepared by Mrs. Selina Tomlin, aided in the early stages by Miss Elizabeth Beazley; others are by Mr. G. U. S. Corbett (fig. 22), by Mr. T. A. Cross (figs. 13, 15, 21) and Mr. N. W. Quennell (fig. 11). The panoramic view of the Ager Faliscus (pl. XLVII) is by Mr. Walden Tucker, Rome Scholar in Engraving. Of the many persons who have helped in the field-work, it is only possible to name a few of the more assiduous: Mr. David Trump, Rome Scholar, whose report on the prehistoric pottery from Torre dell'Isola is included on p. 95; Mr. Guy Duncan, Rome Scholar, Mrs. Anne Kahane and Mrs. Felicity Ann Ward; Miss Evelyn Impey and Mrs. G. Webster, who were concerned particularly with the recording and classification of the sherds and other small finds; also Miss Elizabeth Rawson and Mr. Bernard Hamilton, Rome Scholars, and Miss Brenda Mason. These and other visitors and friends too numerous to name have constituted the infantry of the operation.

Of the two signatories of this report, one (M.F.) has been particularly concerned with Civita Castellana and its surrounding territory, the other (J.B.W.P.) with the Via Amerina and the country to the north of the Treia basin; but the report is our joint work and represents our agreed conclusions. In presenting it, we wish to record our grateful thanks to the many of our Italian colleagues who have made our task as pleasant as it has been profitable: above all to Professor Renato Bartoccini, Superintendent of Antiquities for Southern Etruria and his staff; to Dr. Giuseppe Foti, Inspector of Antiquities at the same Superintendency, whose particular concern is Civita Castellana and its territory; to Signor Arcangelo Bracci, the indefatigable Assistant at Civita Castellana, to whose industry and zeal is owed the record of a great many chance finds that would otherwise have gone unrecorded; and to Signore Marcello Beltrame, Assistant for Monuments at Civita Castellana. We wish also to record our debt to those inexhaustible pioneers of Faliscan topographical studies, Angelo Pasqui and Adolfo Cozza, who were tireless in recording the traces of antiquity at a time when, though far better preserved than they are today, they were also far less accessible. Through the courtesy of Professor Bartoccini, we have been able to view some of the material which they assembled over half a century ago for an archaeological map that was never published, and which we understand will shortly be published by the Accademia dei Lincei in the form in which they left it. The report that follows, except where specifically stated otherwise, represents our own observations, but it has been of great service to us to have had access to the work of our distinguished predecessors. We have also made constant use of the fine collection of air photographs presented to the British School by the Air Ministry after the Second World War.

A few points of presentation call for comment. With a very few exceptions, the place-names that we have used are those that figure in the more recent editions of the Carta d'Italia, the relevant sheets of which have all been revised since 1940. This may not always be the most satisfactory answer to a difficult problem of selection, since it is often the older names that are historically the more significant;

---

[2] *PBSR*, xxiii, 1955, pp. 44–72.

but, in view of the rapid changes that are taking place, it has seemed wiser to adopt a standard practice. Topographical reference has been very greatly simplified by the recent adoption of the standard international grid. This grid we have indicated in the margins of our maps, and we have used it also in the lists of sites that follow each section of the text; within these lists the sites are arranged in numerical order, i.e. from west to east.

We have used the word 'ancient' throughout in the particular sense of 'Roman or earlier'; 'old' in the more general sense of 'not recent.' Another word that acquires a somewhat special connotation in a context such as this is 'medieval,' since in a great many respects substantially medieval conditions continued to subsist over large parts of the area long after the end of the Middle Ages. Without attempting any specific definition of the term, it will be well to warn the reader that we have often used it in a somewhat elastic sense. This qualification does not, of course, apply to such monuments as buildings and inscriptions, which fall readily and precisely into the conventional categories.

The pottery to which we refer has been collected and stored by sites at the British School, where it is available for study. We ourselves have made no attempt to go into details, although it would, for example, be a relatively easy task to distinguish the black-glazed wares of local Faliscan manufacture. The term 'red polished ware' is used to indicate the whole range of middle and late Roman wares produced in imitation of terra sigillata. 'Local rouletted ware' (from sites along the Via Amerina south of Nepi) indicates a distinctive local brown fabric with coarse impressed patterns, which appears to have been manufactured somewhere in the Mazzano-Campagnano area.

We had intended to include a section describing and illustrating the ancient masonry-techniques encountered in the Ager Faliscus. In view of the already excessive bulk of this report, we have had to defer this to another occasion.

In conclusion, we venture to express the hope that this report will be judged for what it sets out to be—not a finished study of any of the problems connected with the Ager Faliscus, but a straightforward presentation of the facts that we have been able to assemble during two years of intermittent field-work within that fascinating and often strangely neglected territory.

The following works are cited throughout in abbreviated form:

Ashby and Fell	T. Ashby and R. A. L. Fell, 'The Via Flaminia,' *Journal of Roman Studies*, xi, 1921, pp. 125-190.
CIE	*Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum.*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.*
Deecke	Wilhelm Deecke, *Die Falisker*, Strassburg, 1888.
Del Frate	O. Del Frate, *Guida storica e descrittiva della Faleria Etrusca* (*Civita Castellana*), Rome, 1898.
Dennis	George Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, 2 vols, 3rd edition, 1883.

Pasqui and Cozza	Unpublished plans and maps by Angelo Pasqui and Adolfo Cozza, now in the care of the Superintendency of Antiquities for Southern Etruria (at the Villa Giulia Museum).
Tomassetti	Giuseppe Tomassetti, *La Campagna Romana*, vol. iii, 1913.

Map references in the text are to the 1 :25,000 sheets prepared by the Istituto Geografico Militare. The following sheets comprise the area covered by the present article (from south to north):

Campagnano di Roma (Sheet 143 II N.E., revised 1950)
Nepi (Sheet 143 I S.E., revised 1940)
Civita Castellana (Sheet 143 I N.E., revised 1940)
Gallese (Sheet 137 II S.E., revised 1944)

also a small strip in the right-hand margin of:

Sutri (Sheet I S.O., revised 1940)
Ronciglione (Sheet 143 I N.O., revised 1940)

II. THE VIA AMERINA

(*a*) *From* Baccanae *to Ponte Nepesino* (figs. 2, 3)

The Via Amerina (for the name, see p. 190) left the Via Cassia at kilo 31.6, about 700 m. short of the far crest of the Baccano crater. At this point, the Cassia swings left, obliquely up the slope, before swinging right again, through a cutting, to emerge on the northward slopes of the Bracciano range. The Amerina took a steeper and more direct line, crossing the saddle to the right of the prominent, rounded hill-top of Monte dell'Impiccato ('Gallows Hill,' 317 m.). The line of the ancient road is clearly visible where it crosses the ridge, as a long, wooded scarp cut into the right flank of the saddle. Through the same gap passes a track running round the crest of the crater from west to east, itself almost certainly an ancient road. On the far side of the crest this track swings right, towards Campagnano. The Via Amerina, instead, carries straight on, following a farm track which winds gently down along the line of one of the narrow fingers of land that stretch northwards, bounded by steeply eroded valleys, into the Faliscan plain, 2 km. to the north. Immediately after the fork there are substantial traces of ancient paving in the bank to the left of the road, and a few yards farther on the line reappears as a terrace scarped into the left shoulder of a small but conspicuous eminence. From this point onwards it can be followed as a trackway strewn with scattered *selce* blocks, at first just below the crest of the ridge, then dropping off to the left, to pass some 150 m. to the east of the Casale Valle d'Oro. Here it enters ploughland and has been very largely obliterated; but from the line of the ground, and from the traces of paving still visible in 1956, it can be seen to have continued to follow the line of the ridge, making for the point where it is exposed in section in the cutting of the road from Settevene to Campagnano.

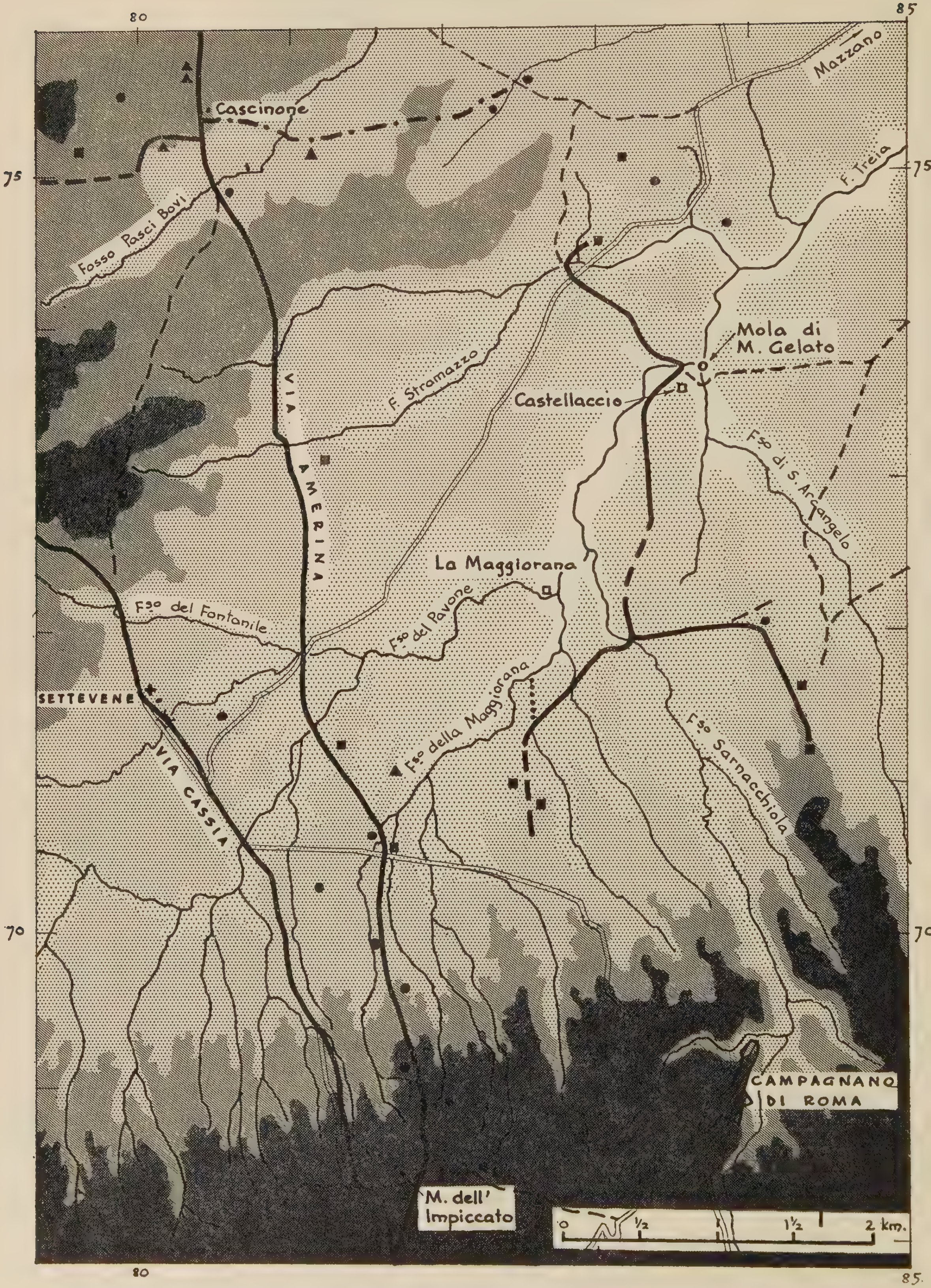


FIG. 2.—THE VIA AMERINA FROM *BACCANAE* TO CASCINONE (for the conventions used, see opposite)

KEY TO MAPS

━━━	Paved Roman roads
━ • ━	Other Roman or pre-Roman roads, unpaved
– – –	Other old tracks, possibly but not certainly ancient
═══	Modern roads
≍	Roman bridge
••••••	Cuniculus
△	Ancient cemetery or group of tombs
▲	Single tomb
■	Roman building
●	Roman site
○	Post-Roman site
□	Mediaeval tower or castle
+	Church or chapel
•	Casale or other modern feature

FIG. 2A.—LIST OF CONVENTIONS USED IN FIGS. 2, 3, 10, 14, 19, 20, 23, 25, 27, 28

The northern slopes of the Baccano crater, large tracts of which have been brought into cultivation since the war, were evidently thickly settled in Roman times, and there are traces of habitation in the form of building debris and pottery at a number of places beside the road. One of those buildings, near the junction of the modern road from Campagnano with the Via Cassia, in the Pian del Cecio (812703), was of sufficient substance to have contained marble statuary.

812703 (approx.) *Not. Scav.*, 1926, p. 52 Site described as that of a destroyed villa rustica, on the summit of a low hill overlooking the Pian del Cecio at Ponte del Pavone (Via Cassia, kilo 34.6). From it came a marble portrait-head, perhaps of Sophocles, now in the Museo Nazionale Romano (B. M. Felletti Maj, *Museo Nazionale Romano: I ritratti*, 1953, p. 15, no. 10), and scattered around were blocks of tufa, tiles, bricks, *selce*, fragments of marble panelling, *opus spicatum* paving, dolia, and pottery. All that can now be seen is a thin scatter of tile and pottery.

815699 Ploughed-out Roman site, just left of the Via Amerina, about 150 m. north-east of Casale Valle d'Oro. A heavy scatter of concrete and tile, but no trace of paving. Pottery including amphorae, sigillata, and red polished ware.

817691 Scatter of tile and Roman pottery to left of the Via Amerina about 600 m. north of Monte dell'Impiccato. No surviving trace of any structure. Pottery including sigillata and red polished ware.

817697 Thin scatter of Roman pottery on a small but prominent knoll to right of the Via Amerina; including local rouletted ware. At the foot of the knoll, by the road, the lower part of a rotary quern.

820689 Scatter of Roman pottery in a vineyard on a prominent ridge 200 m. east of the Via Amerina; including sigillata.

822685 Traces of a building in a grassy field beside the track running round the crest of the Baccano crater from Monte dell'Impiccato towards Campagnano. Squared tufa block with sockets (door-sill?), and tile. Pottery including amphorae, sigillata, and fine rouletted ware; glass.

Where the road from Settevene to Campagnano crosses the Via Amerina, just after the first kilo stone, a short stretch of the latter has been laid bare (pl. XVII, *a*). Although it is here running along the crest of a low ridge, more than a metre of soil has accumulated over it, and it is perfectly preserved, 2.36 m. wide between the kerbs. On the east side it is bounded by the remains of a wall of tufa *opus reticulatum* with small buttresses; and for a considerable distance around, on either side of the small, deep-cut stream that encircles the ridge from the left, there is a heavy scatter of building material and Roman pottery, suggesting that there was a group of several buildings at this point. After crossing the stream (any possible trace of a bridge or culvert is concealed by heavy undergrowth within the stream-bed) the road swung north-westwards, across the broad, low ridge that separates the Fosso della Maggiorana from the Fosso del Pavone. Many paving-blocks can be seen in the plough where it climbs the ridge; and at the far end the line is marked by a sharply cut gully, which drops through the low cliffs into the broad, flat bottom of the Fosso del Pavone valley. All trace of the road has been obliterated in the valley itself, but a shallow depression leads northwards out of it, heading straight for the bridge that carries the Settevene-Mazzano road over the Fosso di Monte Pagliano. Here, where the stream trickles over a flat, rocky shelf, before plunging into a considerable cleft below, there is a fine natural crossing; and although all trace of Roman work has vanished, the Roman bridge must have stood almost exactly on the site of its modern successor, the Ponte di Valle Romano (811718).

809713 *Cuniculus* opening into the low cliffs below the Piano del Pavone, towards the Fosso del Pavone, about 600 m. north-east of the Via Cassia.

812718 Thin but extensive scatter of much-abraded Roman pottery over the rocky ridge immediately south of Ponte di Valle Romano; the ridge, now largely denuded of soil, bears marks of ancient ploughing, and there are the remains of a small structure of squared tufa blocks in position at the foot of the low cliff overlooking the Fosso del Pavone. Pottery including sigillata and red polished ware; a sherd of good quality black-glazed ware, found 50 m. north of the tufa blocks, perhaps comes from a tomb. A little glass.

813713 Remains of a small podium, facing south from the crest of a low ridge, just above the Via Amerina towards the east, at the point where it drops into the Fosso del Pavone. Concrete core (white mortar, with tufa aggregate) with one block of tufa base-moulding exposed in position, others loose nearby; dovetail cramps. Much tile but little pottery (4 sherds of sigillata, 1 of red polished ware). Presumably a small temple.

814707 Extensive but scattered Roman site on either side of the Via Amerina, immediately north of the road from Settevene to Campagnano:

- (*a*) Section of the Via Amerina exposed, width 2.36 m., flanked on the east side by a wall of tufa *opus reticulatum* with small square buttresses.
- (*b*) Scatter of building material, including one very large tufa block, in recent plough just across the stream from (*a*).

Pottery includes amphorae, terra sigillata; 1 sherd local rouletted ware.

816711 Amorphous remains of a small, bramble-covered structure of Roman concrete; a little coarse pottery.

From Ponte di Valle Romano the road struck off due north across the Pian delle Rose, level ground with rocky outcrops and occasional boulders. In such country the paving is easily lost to sight, but here and there blocks can still be seen in place in the verge of the modern track, which strikes almost due north from just past the bridge, making for a farm and villa built recently on the south bank of the Fosso Stramazzo. Just before crossing the Stramazzo, at this point a modest stream which would hardly have required bridging, there are the considerable remains of a Roman building, about 100 m. to the right of the road, on a slight eminence overlooking the stream (811731).

Immediately after crossing the stream the road swings a little to the west and then turns north again to take advantage of a broad, shallow re-entrant valley leading up to the undulating higher ground between the Fosso Stramazzo and the Fosso dei Pasci Bovi (the headwaters of the Fosso Ronci). This higher ground (and more particularly the northern part of it, after crossing the head of the small but nameless tributary of the Stramazzo which flows through the Valle Larga) is an eastward continuation of the bare, stony ridge familiar to travellers on the modern Via Cassia just past the Casale of Settevene. Almost exactly along the line followed by the Via Amerina the hard, boulder-strewn surfaces give place to the gentler contours of the tufa, the eastern limit of this particular rocky stratum being marked at first by a steep, wooded escarpment, converging on the line of the road from the left, and then, across the crest of the ridge, as little more than a bank, overlooking the road and separating the significantly named wilderness of La Sassara ('the Stony Place') from the rolling ploughland stretching eastwards towards Mazzano. Where the escarpment swings east, to become the northern slope of the Valle Larga, the road is terraced obliquely up it; it is here quite intact, measuring from 2.35 m. to 2.95 m. from one kerb to the other. It runs straight across the ridge, and then winds gently down a shallow re-entrant valley (pl. XVII, *b*) into the flat meadowlands of the Valle Coaro (Covara), heading straight for the bridge over the Fosso dei Pasci Bovi, some 300 m. distant. Up to this point the paving is well preserved, and at one place during the descent there are the remains of a revetment of squared tufa blocks, which may have formed part of a small culvert.

This whole stretch of ancient road is curiously barren of ancient sites. After the Roman building on the south bank of the Fosso Stramazzo, there do not seem to be any identifiable remains for a distance of at any rate several hundred metres to the right of the road, although the ground is fertile and there are a number of tempting sites. The name 'Le Mura,' for the tract of ground across the road from 'La Sassara,' may indicate an ancient site destroyed by ploughing; but, with the exception of a single sherd of fine black-glazed ware, none of the pottery picked up along this ridge appears to be more than a few centuries old. It may be that in antiquity this was wooded land. In the Valle Coaro itself, there are traces of a small Roman site (806749, pt. 226) on a knoll overlooking the Fosso dei Pasci Bovi, 100 m. south-east of the bridge.

At the south end of the bridge the line of the ancient road is joined from the left by what was until the late eighteenth century the main road from Rome to Nepi. This road left the Via Cassia at about kilo 36.6, just after the Casale of Settevene, at the point where the Cassia swings sharply left to cross the head of the rocky ridge described above. The Nepi road instead climbed straight up the ridge, its course now visible as a series of deeply worn packtrails; it struck due north across the top, and then dipped gently down the far escarpment towards the bridge over the Fosso dei Pasci Bovi. Across the top, where it may well never have been paved, it is visible as a broad track, dusty in summer and muddy in winter. Down the escarpment it was paved with small blocks of local stone, but a great deal of the paving has been washed out, leaving a series of trails winding down through the bushes and fallen boulders. Near the bottom, about 200 m. south of the bridge, there is a patch of more substantial paving still in position. It is made up of Roman paving blocks; but although they are quite well laid, a close examination of the joints and of the ruts on the individual blocks shows that they are not in their original position. They come presumably from the Via Amerina, a few hundred metres to the east. Against this patch of Roman blocks is a patch of paving in smaller stones, showing that the road was repaired on several occasions. There is nothing, however, to suggest that it was paved in Roman times. That there was a track of some sort linking the Via Amerina with the Via Cassia along this line seems likely enough; there is the platform of a substantial Roman villa alongside the road about 600 m. north of the Cassia, aligned on it and with a large tomb fronting on it (798730). But, if this was ever a formally paved *diverticulum*, all trace of the Roman paving has now vanished. There seems no reason whatever to doubt that, of the two roads leading to the bridge over the Fosso dei Pasci Bovi, the easternmost is that which continues northwards towards Nepi as the Via Amerina.

798730 Large rectangular platform (90 × 45 m. approx.) bounded by *selce* walling, on the crest of the stony ridge that runs east from Monte Terzo, alongside the track running from Settevene to join the Via Amerina at Ponte dei Pasci Bovi. At the north corner, adjoining the road, are the remains of a concrete structure (*selce* and tufa set in crumbly white mortar) faced with large blocks of tufa containing dowel-holes and cramp-holes; to this structure probably belong the fragments of marble that lie beside it. Tiles, and many fragments of dolium, some of them repaired in antiquity. The site, which is overgrown with coarse grass and low scrub, is presumably that of a farm with its adjacent mausoleum.

805714 Roman site recently ploughed out immediately north of the Mazzano road, about 600 m. east of Settevene. Tufa blocks, tile; *opus spicatum* paving; no painted plaster or tesserae and only one burnt fragment of marble. Amphorae, dolia; much pottery, including two sherds of black-glazed, a little sigillata and red polished ware; glass. The site appears to be that of a small farmhouse with its own cemetery, consisting of poor inhumations beneath tiles, about 100 m. to the E. of the main block.

806748 Roman site on a low hillock about 100 m. south-east of Ponte dei Pasci Bovi. No structure survives, but there is a *cuniculus*; tiles. Pottery including one sherd of poor-quality sigillata with applied rosette, red polished ware, and one sherd of local rouletted ware; glass.

809745 Sherd of fine-quality black-glazed ware found in plough 200 m. east of the Via Amerina. No other ancient sherds were found near it; perhaps from a tomb.

811731 Remains of a substantial Roman structure, on the south bank of the Fosso Stramazzo, just below the Amerina crossing. It is covered with undergrowth and it is very difficult to make out any detail. One building, of concrete, may be a cistern.

Of the ancient bridge across the Fosso dei Pasci Bovi there is no trace, but it must have been exactly on the site of its present-day successor, a small hump-backed structure of no great antiquity. Immediately after crossing this bridge, paving stones begin to appear in the hedge, and the stretch that follows, winding up the ridge past the farm buildings of Cascinone (805754) and out on to the flat hill-top beyond, is the best preserved of the whole Roman road; for nearly a kilometre the paving is almost intact, in many places with the kerb stones still in position (pl. XVII, *c*). A striking feature on this stretch is the variable width of the paving. On the level hill-top it drops to a uniform 2.80 m., but up the hill it varies greatly, rising to as much as 4.20 on the curve near the crest of the ridge.

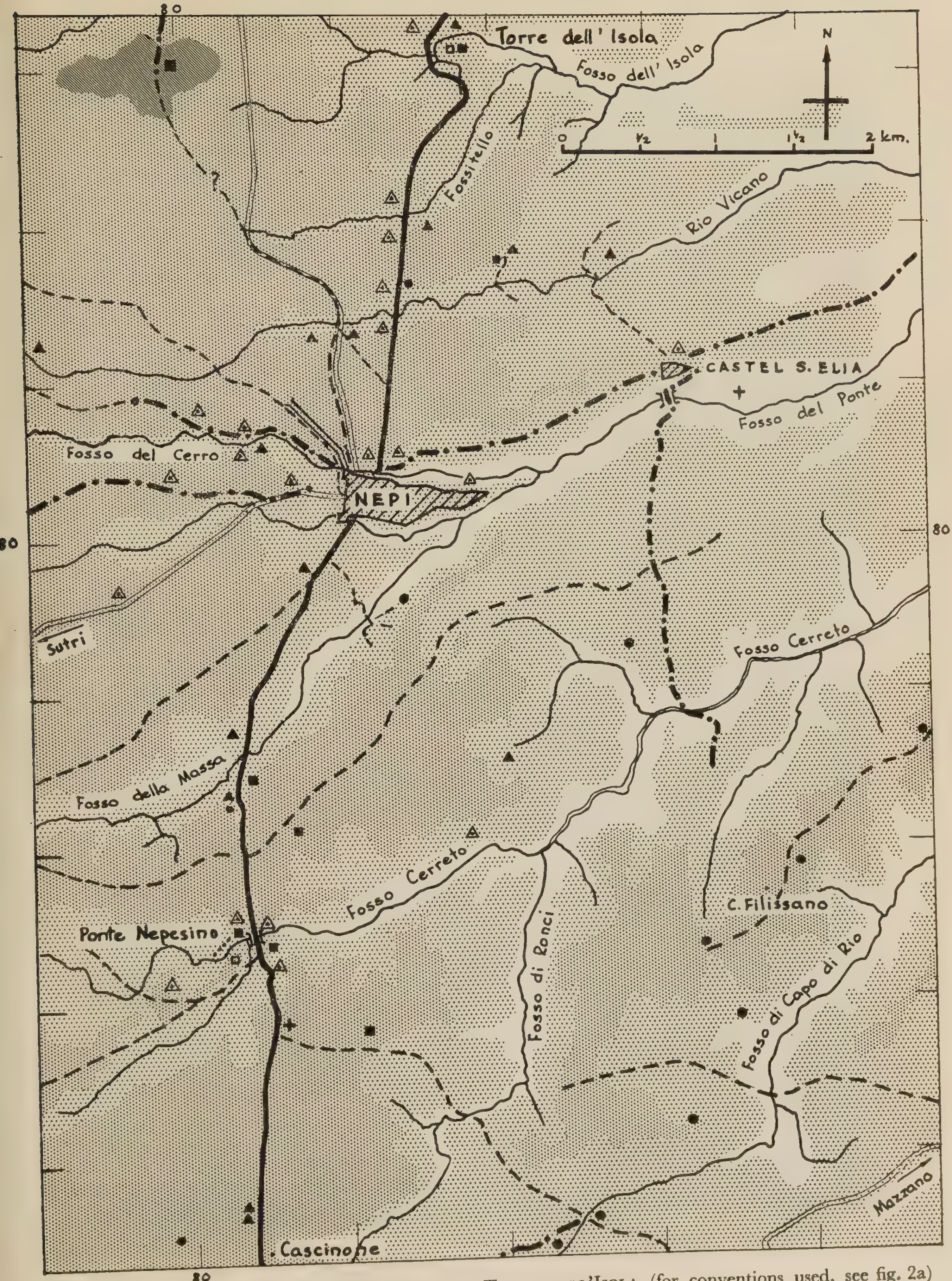


Fig. 3.—The Via Amerina from Cascinone to Torre dell'Isola (for conventions used, see fig. 2a)

Just short of the crest a paved *diverticulum* led off to the west. The line can be followed for some distance, winding along the slope past the remains of a small mausoleum and through a cutting. After this it is now lost, but Pasqui and Cozza saw it running due west to join the Via Cassia just short of the fork of the modern Monterosi by-pass. That it was laid out after the Amerina can be seen from the fact that kerb-stones of the latter are still in place at the point of junction.

After passing Cascinone the paving is preserved for some 400 m., on the right of the modern farm-track, breaking off finally just short of the remains of two substantial Roman tombs, which stood on the left-hand side of the road. One or both of these may have belonged to the owners of the Roman building of which the scattered remains can be seen in the ploughland about 500 m. to the south-west (799755).

For nearly a kilometre after passing the tombs the road is featureless, a broad, deep-rutted track, running across the flat, open uplands of the Tenutella estate, dipping sharply across the head of a shallow valley which slopes down to the left, and climbing once more the short rise up to the Casale dell'Umiltá. Immediately beyond the Casale it begins to drop steeply down towards the Ponte Nepesino, which is described in the next section. Across the flat, all traces of the ancient paving have long since vanished. Only where the road dips down the rocky scarp 400 m. south of L'Umiltá, and again in the cutting beside the Casale itself, are there short stretches in position, the latter a metre or more above the bottom of the tufa cutting which represents the later road-level.

795751 About 800 m. to the left of the road, a rectangular structure of *selce* concrete, measuring 4.65 × 4.41 m. internally (pl. XXI, *b*). The south wall, which presumably contained the entrance, has fallen; the other three walls each have a central buttress and clasping angle buttresses, of which each of the latter incorporated a pilaster or similar feature in some other material. A series of transverse beam-holes at half height is not original. The surrounding debris includes fragments of marble, suggesting that this may have been a small temple; the very small amount of pottery includes two black-glazed sherds; also small black and white tesserae.

799755 About 400 m. to the north-east of the last site are the ploughed-out remains of a large Roman building, covering a large area in the field immediately to the north of the track leading west from Casale il Cascinone. Tufa blocks, triangular bricks and tile; coarse tesserae; amphora; 1 sherd black-glazed, 2 of sigillata and several red polished ware.

802753 Stump of a destroyed rectangular mausoleum of *selce* concrete (approx. 3,00 × 2,50 m.) a short distance west of the Via Amerina at Cascinone beside the paved *diverticulum* leading westwards towards the Via Cassia.

813752 Shapeless lump of Roman concrete masonry in position beside the track leading eastwards from Cascinone towards Mazzano; probably a mausoleum.

803758 Two upstanding mausolea on the left of the road, about 300 m. north of Casale il Cascinone. The better preserved of the two stands about 2.50 m. high and measures some 3.85 × 4.60 m. It is built of concrete consisting of large chunks of *selce* set in a crumbly grey mortar, and a few fragments of marble lying around suggest that there were marble details. On the side facing the road there is a rectangular recess, which must have held an inscription, and around it the remains of an elaborate stucco frame. Of the second tomb, which was of the same general size and form, all that remains is the stump of the concrete core, consisting of blocks of *selce* bedded in a crumbly, white mortar, and a fragment of brick facing still in place on the south side.

805769 Casale l'Umiltá. Old farmhouse by the road side, incorporating a small chapel, now disused.

812768 About 500 m. east of Casale l'Umiltá, a group of Roman buildings overlooking a shallow tributary valley of the Fosso di Ronci. The most prominent feature is an upstanding cistern of good *selce* concrete (pl. XXI, *c*), with remains of facing in *opus incertum*, sited on the crest. A short way below it other cisterns, below ground and bramble-filled. Ploughed out are the remains of other buildings, including brick and tile, blocks of tufa, paving in *opus spicatum*, coarse tesserae, and a lot of domestic pottery (incl. red polished ware) and glass.

(*b*) *Ponte Nepesino* (Pons Nepesinus), *by* M. R. GOUGH (figs. 4–6)[3]

From Casale l'Umiltá at the head of the southern approach to the Fosso Cerreto to the bend in the road on the northern crest, a total distance of just under a kilometre, the line of the Via Amerina is clear throughout. On the south side it was that of a broad, shallow tributary valley running at right-angles to the main stream. About 100 m. short of the crossing this valley is joined from the left by a second, rather larger, valley, and in the angle between the latter and the main *fosso*, on a rocky promontory dominating the road and crossing, stands a medieval castle. On the north side the road climbs through a break in the low cliffs that bound the main valley. Immediately below the crossing the stream drops over falls into a gorge, and there are mineral springs, which are bottled at a modern factory on the south bank. The gap between the castle and the high ground to the south-east of the crossing forms a natural defile; and even before the construction of a bridge, the rocky outcrop over which the river falls would have afforded an excellent bottom for a shallow ford. With its easy crossing and approaches, sited just above the point where the upper valley of the Fosso Cerreto becomes a precipitous gorge, this was an inevitable passage for any road approaching Nepi from the south.

The line of the Roman road can be followed without difficulty. From Casale l'Umiltá down to the river it clung to the eastern edge of the valley, where necessary cutting back the cliff-face to afford an easier passage. About 300 m. north of the Casale it is blocked by a fall of rock, and the present road runs down the valley-bottom, a little to the west of its predecessor. To judge from the generally good state of the Roman paving as far as the rock fall, it seems likely that the diversion is comparatively recent. Elsewhere the ancient road has in many places been completely robbed to provide metalling for the later surface, but here the original paving is almost intact. Up the northern slopes the Roman road ran above and a few metres to the right of the present road, following a more direct line up the east side of the gully. The later road has here worn a great deal deeper than its predecessor, which is well preserved, with remains of both lines of kerb-stones still in position. Near the crest a patch of ancient paving has been lifted and relaid in the Roman manner, just at the point where the two lines converge.

The bridge itself, in its present form a fine, four-arched structure of the post-medieval period, incorporates the substantial remains of its Roman and medieval predecessors (pls. XIX, *c*; XXI, *a*). So far as can now be seen without a stone-by-stone survey (which indeed it merits) the present bridge repeats the form of the Roman bridge, with three larger arches and a smaller arch at the south end, the piers and abutments in each case seeming to incorporate Roman masonry *in situ*. The sequence can most clearly be distinguished within the northernmost arch. The south face of the north abutment is almost intact and consists of very finely jointed tufa masonry, laid in courses 34–35 cm. high and resting on a footing of larger blocks. The bridge itself measured 3.40 m. from face to face, and the footing courses extended some distance farther in both directions. The arched vault is still mainly intact, but has lost most of its original facing, except for part of the

---

[3] The survey of Ponte Nepesino and that of Torre dell'Isola were undertaken by my wife and myself in September-October, 1956. Mrs. Gillian Webster and Captain Anthony Weston-Lewis spent several days helping us at Ponte Nepesino. M. R. G.

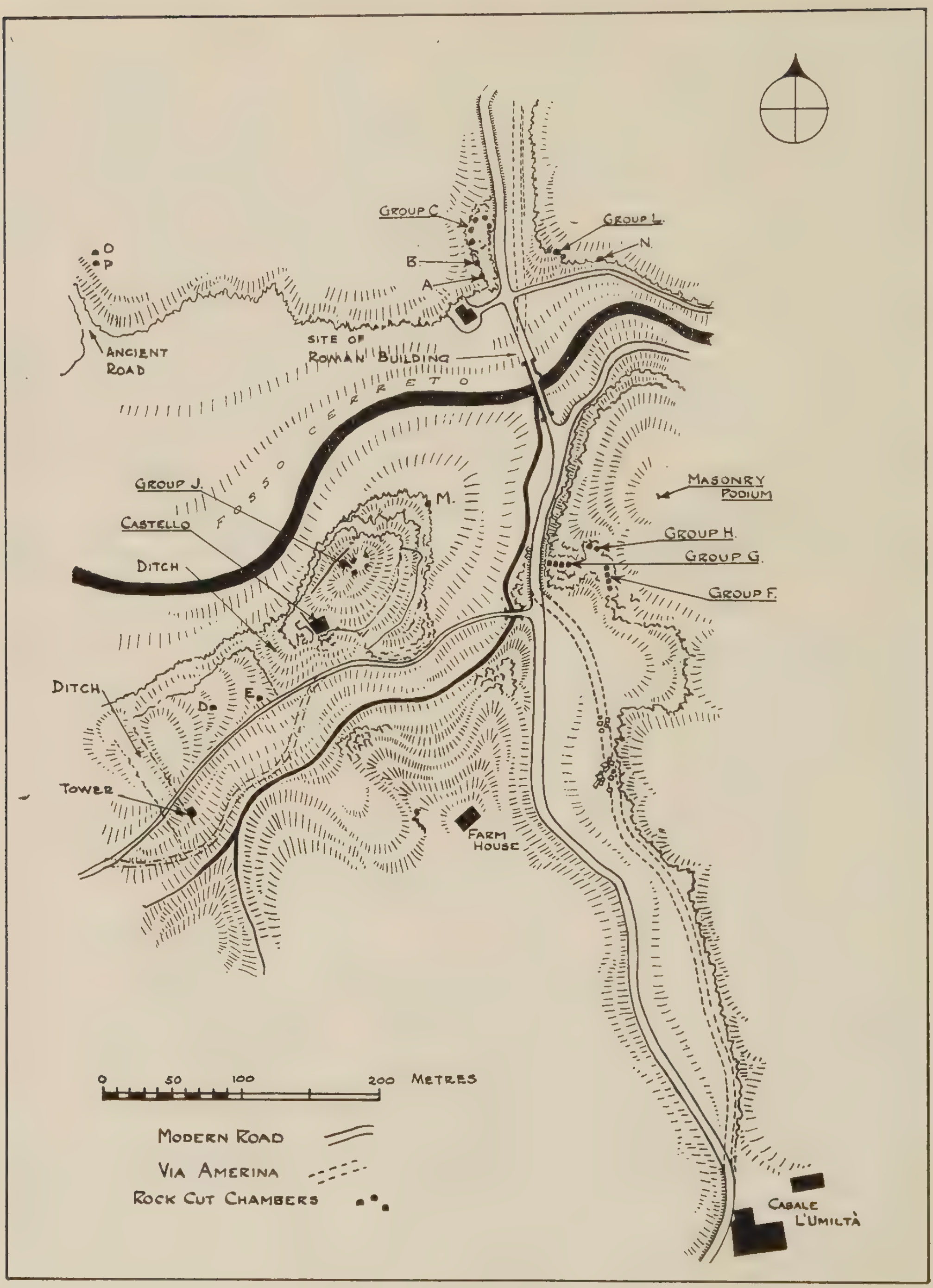


FIG. 4.—THE VIA AMERINA AT PONTE NEPESINO

east face of the arch, where some of the massive voussoir facing-blocks can still be seen. At some later date, but still within the Roman period, the northern approach was widened and the new facing rests on the projecting footing of the earlier abutment; presumably at the same time the corresponding face of the next pier to the south was built out to form a massive buttress or cutwater, the masonry of which is built up against, and masks, the original facing. It is not immediately clear to what extent similar features were added to the other piers on this occasion (some of the existing cutwaters are certainly later, though reusing ancient masonry), or whether the projecting footings of the original piers had served any other purpose than that of providing a stable foundation for the superstructure; this particular addition has, however, survived almost intact, and still provides pedestrians with a triangular alcove, projecting eastwards from the carriageway. A third period, one of simple repair, is represented by the revaulting of the arches, or the patching of existing vaults, in a smaller, neatly cut, tufa masonry. Finally the whole bridge was widened towards the west by the addition of 1.20 m. to both piers and arches, together with a new set of cutwaters facing upstream. The characteristic masonry of this addition, with alternating stone and brick, indicates a relatively recent period, probably not very long before this stretch of the Via Amerina was superseded by the new Papal road from Monterosi to Nepi.

The castle (pls. XIX, *a*, *b*; XX, *a*, *b*) is sited towards the eastern end of a prominent rocky spur, which dominates the network of small valleys that converge on the Fosso Cerreto at Ponte Nepesino. It occupies an irregular oval of rock, about 100 m. long, which is separated from the main ridge by a rock-cut ditch, no less than 25 m. wide. It consists of an outer enclosure which follows the perimeter of the spur, and towards the south-western end of the enclosure, overlooking the single entrance, a small rectangular keep.

The walls of the keep are surprisingly flimsy (just over half a metre thick), and the masonry is poor—small tufa blocks, roughly coursed and set in a very friable mortar along the south-west face overlooking the entrance (pl. XX, *b*), and an even poorer variant of the same along the other three faces, with fragments of pot and brick freely used in the mortar joints (pl. XXI, *d*). The plan (fig. 5) is a simple rectangle (13 × 11 m.), divided by a single cross-wall into two rooms of approximately equal dimensions. It was entered by a single door, now blocked, in the north-eastern wall, and the south-western wall flanked and controlled the rock-cut entrance passageway; from it, across the entrance, projected a simple gate, of which one jamb and the spring of an arch survive. Opening off the passageway and directly beneath the castle there are two earlier rock-cut chambers, of which the larger has a square central pier and three ledged recesses, which at some stage have been used as mangers. The builders of the keep sited their walls as far as possible on solid rock, but where their line carried them across the earlier chambers (which evidently continued to serve as stables for the building above) they rested on foundations built upwards from the level of the original floor and cutting through the earlier features.

The outer defences consisted very largely of the rock of the hill-top, cut back to a vertical face and strengthened where necessary by a wall, which can be seen at two points, along the north-west side, where the natural defences are less naturally strong, and a short stretch at the east end, the face of which has fallen, exposing the core. This wall is built of substantial blocks of roughly squared tufa (up to 57 cm. long and 26–30 cm. in section), laid almost dry in the core but brought to a mortared face. The use of mortar shows that this is certainly medieval work; but in all other respects it is so uncharacteristic of medieval masonry that one is led to wonder whether the medieval builders may not have been using the material and copying the methods of an earlier fortification. Along the crest of the hill a low tufa outcrop, now thickly covered with undergrowth, is honeycombed with rock-cut chambers; a few courses of small tufa blocks on the perimeter suggest that it may at one time have had separate defences.

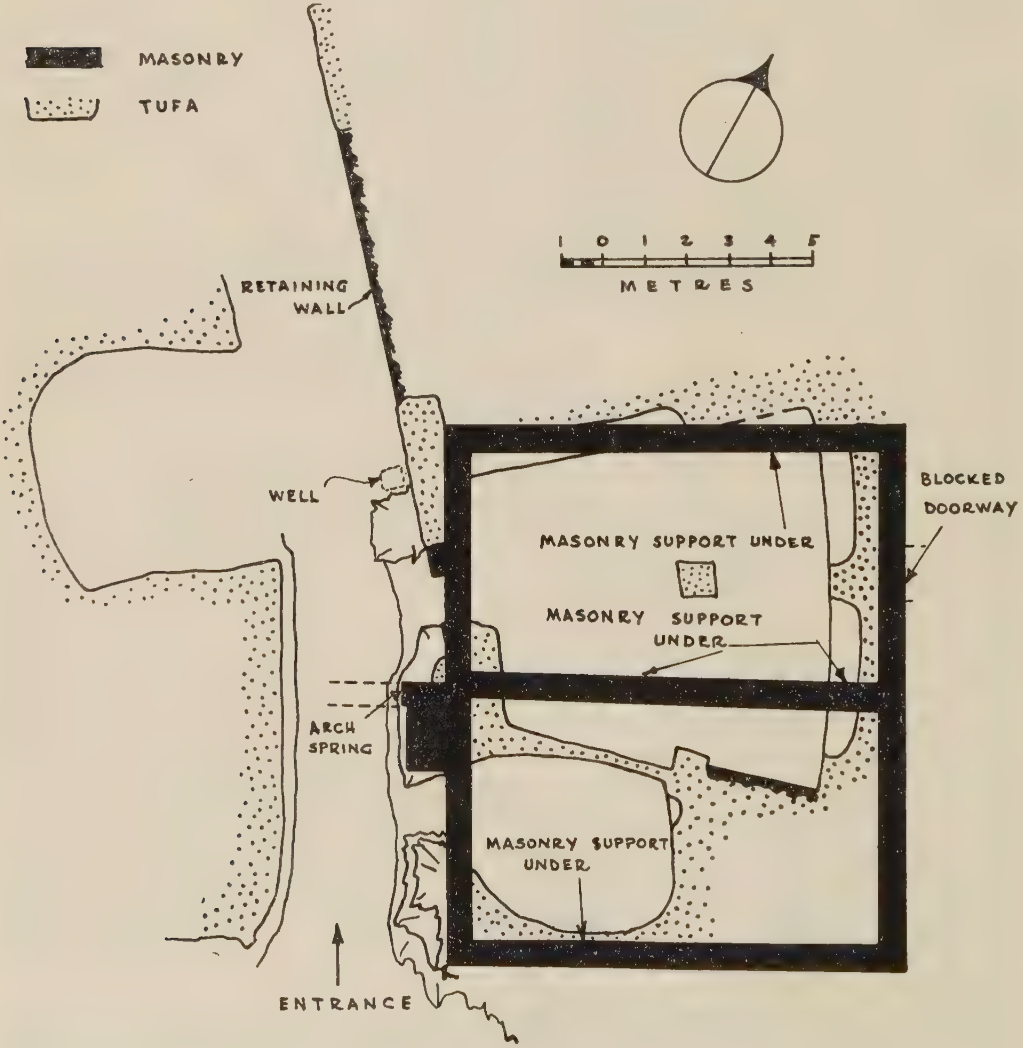


Fig. 5.—Ponte Nepesino, the Castle

To the south-west of the main site, about 100 m. beyond the main ditch, there is a second, smaller ditch running right across the ridge and at the southern end of it, overlooking the lateral valley, there are the footings of a small tower and, built up against it, a short stretch of curtain wall. Beyond this again, on the northern edge of the ridge (which is here very narrow), there are further traces of medieval structures.

The castle hill has evidently had a long history. The most natural interpretation of the surviving remains is that the outer wall and ditch are those of a settlement that grew up under the protection of the castle. The central building of the latter belongs to the quite late Middle Ages; but it clearly overlies and replaces earlier structures. Documents may throw further light on these points. In the absence of any specific traces of Faliscan occupation, it can be little more than a guess that the medieval builders may have made use of the rock-cut defences of a small pre-Roman fortress on the same site. It would certainly have been a very natural site for one, overlooking a crossing which must have been in use from the earliest stages of human settlement within the Ager Faliscus.

The river-crossing is the natural focus for a number of local tracks, some of which are certainly of long standing. One of these climbs obliquely up the southern slopes of the castle hill on to the ridge beyond; it replaces an earlier road, which swings to the left up the valley and climbs to the ridge beyond the outer defences. At the narrowest point of the ridge this road divided, one branch continuing left along the high ground towards Monterosi, the other bearing right, round the head of the re-entrant valley to the north, and through a cutting in the saddle at the head of it, running in the general direction of Ronciglione and Carbognano. Neither of these roads is necessarily earlier than the Middle Ages, although that towards Monterosi follows a very obvious natural line. Other tracks strike off eastwards down the gorge on either side of the river. That on the north side is certainly ancient; it is flanked for some distance by a *cuniculus* and there are grave-recesses cut beside it. That on the south side also follows a likely line, but in its present form it is entirely modern, serving the mineral-water bottling-plant. Another road that is certainly ancient strikes up through the cliffs to the north of the road about 300 m. west of the Via Amerina, along the flank of a small, natural re-entrant; it is rock-cut and now completely choked with vegetation. There are many signs of ancient cultivation on the plateau, and two well preserved Faliscan tombs in the slopes to the east of the road.

Apart from the castle and the bridge, the most conspicuous feature of the site is the number of chambers cut in the tufa on either side of the Via Amerina and along the Fosso Cerreto. Many of these, although modified out of all recognition by long use, may well originally have been ancient tombs. Others are almost certainly of more recent origin. Both alike have been used over the centuries as places of storage for farm-implements, as cattle byres, and as dwellings. At least one, to the north-east of the bridge (fig. 4, N) is still inhabited.

Like the castle hill above it, the crossing has had long history. The road itself goes back to Faliscan times (p. 187), and there was certainly settlement nearby, if not actually on the castle hill. The Roman period saw the metalling of the road and the building of a bridge across the ford, and the exploitation of the mineral springs. In the Middle Ages most of the inhabitants probably found it prudent to retreat to the shelter of the castle walls; but others continued to occupy the roadside caves. The bridge itself was several times rebuilt or enlarged, the last widening being perhaps not so very long before the construction of the new Papal road through Nepi to Civita Castellana in 1787–89 (pp. 195–7) deprived this stretch of the Via Amerina of all importance. Today, after a century and a half of virtual abandonment, there is a flourishing mineral-water bottling-plant, and the road is once more being opened up to provide a more direct route along the medieval line from the Via Cassia at Settevene to Nepi.

(*i*) *Tombs and rock-cut chambers* (fig. 6)

Ponte Nepesino has so long and continuously been the site of a roadside settlement that it is unusually hard to determine the age of any individual rock-cut chamber within the large series to be found within a radius of half a kilometre from the bridge. There are four main groups (fig. 4): above and to the right of the Via Amerina about 100 m. south of the bridge; on either side of the

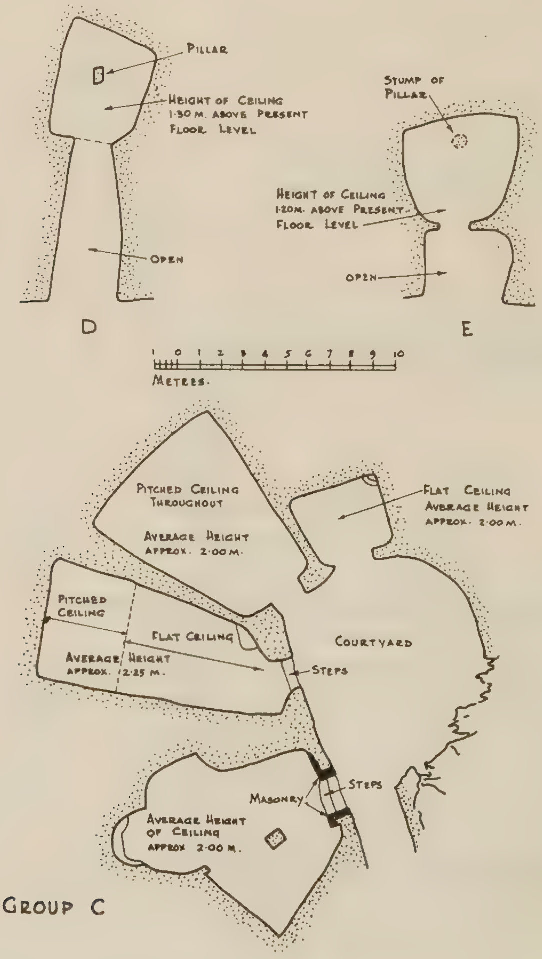

Pillar
Height of Ceiling 1·30 m. above present floor level
Open
D
Stump of Pillar
Height of Ceiling 1·20 m. above present floor level
Open
E
1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Metres.
Pitched Ceiling Throughout
Average Height approx. 2·00 m.
Flat Ceiling Average Height approx. 2·00 m.
Pitched Ceiling
Flat Ceiling
Average Height approx. 2·25 m.
Courtyard
Steps
Steps
Masonry
Average Height of Ceiling approx 2·00 m.
Group C

Fig. 6.—Rock-cut Chambers at Ponte Nepesino (cf. fig. 4)

road immediately north of the bridge; along the track that leads eastwards from the bridge, along the north side of the river (partly off the map); and scattered along the castle ridge, both inside and outside the medieval walls (in addition to those shown, there are several facing on to the medieval track below the modern road, opposite E). Of these, the first three at any rate seem likely from their position to have originated as ancient cemeteries; the fourth is probably predominantly medieval, although it may include ancient tombs adapted to medieval use. A small outlying group that is certainly ancient lies near the head of the broad re-entrant valley to the north of the castle ridge (797771; outside fig. 4), where a small farmhouse is built beside and has partly incorporated a group of rock-cut chambers, one of which is certainly an ancient tomb, very much deepened and enlarged to serve as a stable. Yet another pair of ancient tombs is that on the ridge to the north of the river (O and P), about 250 m. west of the road. Here, cut into a low, westward-facing outcrop of rock and overlooking the ancient rock-cut road that climbs up to the plateau are two fine tombs, each consisting of a narrow entrance corridor and rectangular tomb-chamber and, cut into the walls, a series of typical Faliscan *loculi*, with recesses all round the opening to take the edges of the tiles with which they were once closed (pl. XXXIII, *d*); the narrow door is in each case round-headed, with a simple moulding outlining the curve (pl. XX, *c*).

Fig. 6 illustrates a few characteristic examples. D and E seem to have retained their original form without modification or addition; each consists of a roughly rectangular chamber cut round a single tufa pillar, with an open passageway, or *dromos*, leading to it. Although one would welcome confirmation of the antiquity of these particular examples, which lie within the area of intensive medieval settlement, the form itself is already familiar in Faliscan times; cf. the small tomb at the south-west end of the aqueduct at Ponte del Ponte, near Corchiano (p. 125).

Characteristic of the larger type of chamber are those belonging to group C. Here variations in the height and pitch of the ceiling are a certain indication of different periods of excavation, and it is hard to avoid the conclusion that these and similar chambers (particularly those of group F) were used, and in some cases perhaps originally cut, as quarries.

There are traces of plaster painted in tempera in Tomb N.

In addition to chamber-tombs there are many simple burials, often little more than rectangular grave-recesses, cut in the cliffs, principally to the north of the stream, for some distance east and west of the road, and also beside the Via Amerina itself.

(*ii*) *Other antiquities shown in figs.* 3 *and* 4

797771 Small outlying cemetery, see above.

803775 Immediately to the left of the road, just across the bridge, the water meadows on the north side of the bridge were the site of a large Roman building, probably a thermal establishment, the scanty remains of which are being laboriously extracted piecemeal and destroyed by the owner of the nearby farmhouse, who is prepared to point out the sites of his various discoveries, adding proudly in each case 'L'ho rotto io.' There was certainly a wall of large tufa blocks parallel with the road, and others at right angles to it, as well as what appears to have been a series of smaller rooms or tanks near the stream; some of the rooms were paved in *opus spicatum*. The identification as a thermal establishment is confirmed by the preservation of part of a latrine-seat, cut in Italian marble. Other finds include two Italian marble thresholds; a heavy facing-block of Italian marble carved on the disengaged angle with a low-relief pilaster and pilaster-capital of late Republican type, presumably from a doorway; and a low decorative stand of *africano* marble. The antiquarian name frequently given to these baths, the 'Terme di Graccho,' seems to have no foundation whatsoever (see Martinori, p. 202). They may perhaps be one of the baths referred to by Strabo (5, 2, 9).

804774 On the edge of the high ground overlooking the crossing from the south-east, the remains of a podium of tufa masonry. The site suggests a small temple.
Also (not shown in fig. 4) two ancient *cuniculi*, one in the cliff beside the Via Amerina and parallel with it, about 80 m. south of the stream; the other running beside the track that leads eastwards from the north end of the bridge, just short of tomb N.

(*c*) *From Ponte Nepesino to Fosso dell'Isola* (*La Torre dell'Isola*) (fig. 3, p. 79)

From Ponte Nepesino to Nepi the line of the ancient road (here formerly known as 'Via Selciatella') coincides almost exactly with that of the modern road that links Nepi with the mineral-water establishment just below Ponte Nepesino itself. Here and there short stretches of Roman paving can be seen through the later metalling, and at one point on the ridge between Ponte Nepesino and the Fosso della Cisternella the line of the ancient road diverges a short distance to the right, visible as a shallow, bramble-filled cutting running between vertical rock-cut faces. The crossing of the Fosso della Cisternella (Fosso della Massa) at this point a modest stream running in a broad, shallow valley (pl. XVIII, *b*), is marked by numerous traces of ancient settlement: in the face of the road-cutting, where it begins to descend, on the left-hand side, a tomb with rock-cut mouldings, and a *cuniculus*; opposite, set a little back from the road, a rock-cut habitation of uncertain age with remains of ancient tufa walling and a well on the brow above it, and a rock-cut track leading up on to the plateau to the east; and across the stream, on the left-hand brow, the scanty remains of a Roman concrete structure (the ruin beyond it is that of a relatively recent farm-house). The bridge itself, Ponte Presso, is modern. Approaching Nepi the visible remains of Roman paving grow less. At point 227 the road is joined from the left by what may be an ancient track leading south-westwards from Nepi towards the Via Cassia. Just beyond the junction it passes a conspicuous Roman mausoleum (808798), and then drops gently down the slope to enter the city by a postern set between the south-west angle of the Papal fortifications and the precipitous head of the gorge that bounds Nepi on the south. The ancient walls have disappeared at this point, but a surviving stretch a short way to the north, just within the main Papal gate, shows that it was set a little back, following the natural line of the edge of the higher ground within the city.

To the south and south-east of the city, there are deep and certainly ancient tracks cut in the cliffs along the south-east bank of the Fosso della Massa (formerly Fosso Chiuse Lunghe), giving access from Nepi to the long, narrow plateau that faces across towards Nepi and Castel Sant'Elia from the south; and the mule track along the crest of the same plateau presumably follows the line of an ancient ridge-way track. But there are singularly few traces of actual settlement. Much of this plateau and of the next plateau to the south, east of Casale l'Umiltá, has been brought back into cultivation within recent years, but widespread search after the autumn ploughing has failed to yield traces of the smaller Roman farmsteads that are so conspicuous a feature of many parts of the Ager Faliscus. On the other hand, where the grassland and scrub are still intact many of the rocky outcrops are scarred with the traces of ancient ploughing, showing that this is land that was once cultivated, but has since lost much of its ancient topsoil. This evidence is in striking contrast with that presented by the adjoining Filissano estate, immediately to the south-east, where despite continuous occupation throughout the Middle Ages, the remains of Roman settlement are abundant. Either this country was in the hands of a few large proprietors, or else, as seems perhaps more likely in this particular case, the small holdings were held by persons who for the most part preferred to live in Nepi itself, or in the neighbouring villages, rather than in isolated farmsteads.

803783 *Cuniculus* emerging from the rock-face on the left-hand side of the road, traceable for some distance on an oblique line. It presumably drained a site on the scrub-covered promontory overlooking the Fosso della Cisternella crossing. Nearby there are the remains of a rock-cut tomb with flanking pilasters.

804785 Rock-cut dwelling of uncertain date in the cliffs 100 m. to the right of the road. Above it, on the edge of the crest, a terrace-wall of *opus quadratum* and an ancient well. A rock-cut track leads up to the plateau at this point.

804788 Scanty remains of a structure of Roman concrete, probably a mausoleum, on the edge of the higher ground to the north-west of the crossing. The ruins beyond are of farmhouses, of no great antiquity.

807781 Remains of a large Roman site. The surviving structures are a small apse, of *selce* concrete on a foundation of tufa blocks, in a vineyard; and a short distance to the east, in the bank beside the track leading to Casale la Massa, remains of tufa walling in *opus quadratum*. The construction of the modern farmhouse just south of this track is said to have disclosed and destroyed the remains of a substantial building, and the ground around is littered with building materials, pottery (amphorae, sigillata, red polished ware, coarse wares) and glass.

811793 Ancient rock-cut track, leading from Nepi to the plateau of la Massa; it branches into three near the top. A scatter of pottery near the edge (814795, approx.), including good-quality black-glazed, may come from one of the early cemeteries of Nepi.

815779 (approx.) Small cemetery consisting of three chamber tombs of the sixth or fifth century B.C., two of them reused in Roman times; *Not. Scav.*, 1910, pp. 212–219.

828792 Large rock-cut tank, of uncertain date; *Not. Scav.*, 1910, pp. 219–220. Two sites referred to by Stefani in *Not. Scav.*, 1910, pp. 220–222, have eluded identification:

(*a*) A curious structure of parallel walls of tufa blocks 'in un'altra zona detta il Quartacciolo.'

(*b*) 'Ad ovest della contrada Massa (i.e. towards the Via Amerina), sopra un altipiano denominato Casaccia' a small house or farm, built in *opus reticulatum*.

Note: the ridgeway along the crest of the La Massa plateau may well be ancient, but traces of selce paving along it are certainly recent additions, robbed from the Amerina. It appears to have continued to the west of the Amerina, where scarred rock-surfaces and a thin scatter of pottery attest an area of ancient cultivation, long ago denuded, and now once more being cleared and broken up.

Nepi, the ancient Nepete (for the name, *CIL*, xi, p. 481), which had existed since archaic times, figures along with Sutrium in ancient tradition as a key-point in Roman access to Etruria. In 386 B.C. Livy records that the two cities revolted and were recovered by Rome, calling them 'loca opposita Etruriae et velut claustra inde portaeque' (6, 9, 4). Nepete received a Latin colony in 383 (Livy 6, 21, 4; or ten years later, according to Vell. Pat. 1, 14, 2) and until the subjection of Falerii Veteres in 241 B.C. it must have remained the effective outpost of Roman power within the Faliscan territory. After the Social War it became a municipium and remained so (*CIL*, xi, 3214); the colony mentioned in the *Liber Coloniarum* ('eadem lege servatur qua et ager Faliscorum,' p. 217 Lachmann) is, like the alleged colony at Falerii, to be rejected. Under the Empire Nepete enjoyed a moderate prosperity, but it was with the barbarian invasions that it resumed its strategic role, as commanding an important route to Rome (φρούριον, Procop. *Bell. Goth.*, 4, 35). In the Middle Ages it seems to have retained this important position, and thereafter it long remained the seat of a Papal garrison.

With the remains of the classical and medieval Nepi itself these notes are not directly concerned. It is sufficient to remark that the site, a tongue of gently undulating ground between two impregnable gorges, is one of very great natural strength. Only across the neck, towards the west, was there any need of artificial fortifications, and even here the problem was simplified by the existence of a well-marked saddle. The natural strength of the site, coupled with its position as the most easterly possible crossing-point for any traffic moving north and south through the central Faliscan territory, marked it out from very early times as a site of great strategic importance (pls. XVIII, *d*; XL, *b*).

For the history of Nepi, see further *CIL*, xi, p. 481; Tomassetti, iii, pp. 135–154.

For the ancient cemeteries, see in particular the following: to the north, *Not. Scav.*, 1910, p. 222 ('Vigna Pentriani') and *ibid.*, 1918, pp. 16–19; to the west, *Not. Scav.*, 1910, pp. 199–207 and 221–222 ('Contrada Sante Grotte' and 'Contrada Gilastro'); to the south, *ibid.*, pp. 207–229 ('Contrada La Massa'). See also below, pp. 180–1.

For the Papal aqueduct and fortifications, see pp. 181–2.

It is not improbable that in antiquity the Via Amerina entered the city some distance to the east of its present point of entry, and that the head of the gorge has since cut back, carrying with it the road and the fortifications. This is certainly the case on the north side of the city, where the ancient road can be seen heading due north from a point on the northern edge of the gorge, about 200 m. to the east of the present bridge, exactly opposite the façade of the cathedral. It is inconceivable that, in laying out the Via Amerina, the Roman engineers should have selected a line involving the construction of a huge bridge (of which there is no trace) instead of simply skirting the head of the gorge, which is what the Papal engineers did when laying out the present road in 1787–9. On this side at any rate, the stream must have cut back since Roman times; and it may well be that the tradition that sees in the Piazza in front of the cathedral the site of the ancient Forum has some foundation in fact.

From Nepi to Falerii Novi the road markedly changes character. Up to this point it is very largely a contour-road, conforming closely to the lie of the country; the fact that it is able to follow so direct a line is due to skilful siting rather than to any major feats of engineering. There are some rock-cuttings (e.g. in the descent from Casale dell'Umiltá to Ponte Nepesino), but these are modest in scale and, like the road itself, they follow the run of the country. From Nepi onwards the road is almost mathematically direct. The Fosso dell'Isola was a major obstacle, which had to be circumvented by traditional methods. But elsewhere the line runs dead straight across country, cutting through minor obstacles, and crossing the by no means inconsiderable valleys to the north and south of the Fosso dell'Isola by the simple expedient of trenching straight down through either cliff and bridging the central span. The cuttings are far wider than the actual road (up to 12 m. wide in places), and the engineers have gone to considerable (at times, indeed, rather exaggerated) lengths to eliminate awkward gradients. Instead of conforming to the landscape, the road is imposed upon it.

For a short distance after passing Nepi the road is still in use as a farm track. Immediately beyond the Castel Sant'Elia road the paving has disappeared and the track, cutting deep into the tufa slopes above the north edge of the gorge, has obliterated all specific traces of antiquity. After 150 m., however, a few paving blocks can be seen in position in the left-hand bank, and from here onwards it crosses the short open saddle as a level track, with an occasional paving-block lying beside it. Then, on approaching the Rio Vicano, at this point a gentle stream flowing through meadows between sloping, rocky banks, it quite suddenly drops into a rock-cut trench (now terraced for farm-gardens) 10–11 m. wide and, at its deepest, 3–4 m. deep, dipping down to the river and lined on either side with rock-cut tombs (pl. XXII, *a*). At one point within this trench a complete cross-section of the ancient road-surface can be seen, the paved carriage-way being no more than 2.40 m. wide between the retaining kerbs of pitched *selce* blocks and flanked on either side by level, unpaved footpaths, 2.90–3.00 m. wide, of which that on the east side is bounded by a drainage channel and a raised, level shelf, together 2.00 m. wide, making a total width of 10.30 m. for the whole complex, from one rock-face to the other.

The actual crossing is an easy one, and all trace of any bridge (it can have been little more than a culvert) has long ago been swept away; but the road itself can be followed without difficulty, running in a dead straight line, up the far slope in a broad but relatively shallow rock-cut trench, across the crest as a prominent hedgerow boundary, and then, after a short gap where the line of it runs through vineyards, dropping once more into a deep trench to cross the Fossitello (pl. XXII, *b*). This is a far more considerable stream, running in a deep, precipitous gorge, filled with dense undergrowth, and although the outline of both abutments of the ancient bridge can be made out, all that is exposed of the actual masonry is a short stretch of the core of the north abutment, visible among the brambles and consisting of a solid mass of tufa blocks laid in regular 60 cm. courses. It must have been an impressive structure, comparable in scale to the bridge over the Fosso Tre Ponti (p. 97), with the road surface nearly 15 m. above the stream bed.

On the far side of the Fossitello the road continues up a deep cutting similar to all the rest, lined on either side with rock-cut tombs and in places heavily over-grown. Arrived on level ground at the crest of the ridge, for the first time since leaving Nepi it diverges from its mathematically straight course in order to negotiate the difficult crossing of the Fosso dell'Isola. This stretch will be described in the next section.

(*i*) *Cemeteries and individual tombs* (see further p. 96; as in the following sections no attempt is made to list all the tombs, of which there are so many preserved along the stretch of the Via Amerina between Nepi and Corchiano).

814805 (approx.) The cemetery recorded in *Not. Scav.*, 1918, pp. 16–19, appears to have lain alongside and parallel with the Vía Amerina. If so, it is evidence for an earlier exit from Nepi on approximately the same line, presumably that of the road to Corchiano (p. 178), which would have diverged towards the left on reaching the crest.

814812 In the cutting leading down to the crossing of the Rio Vicano, a cemetery consisting mainly of simple arched recesses. A rather more elaborate tomb near the bottom of the slope, on the left, shows signs of Christian re-use.

814817 In the corresponding cutting on the far side a number of tombs mostly recut and enlarged in later times. One of these was later converted into a small rock-cut chapel, long since abandoned.

815821 Of the many tombs north and south of the Fossitello none were of any distinction. An interesting illustration of the fate that befell many of them can be seen half-way up the north cutting, on the left-hand side, where a square, flat-ceilinged tomb, with arched grave-recesses, has had a neat charcoal stove cut in the tufa just inside the entrance (fig. 9, H).

There are a number of isolated tombs up and down the Rio Vicano and the Fossitello, many more, no doubt, than appear on the map (fig. 3), since the Fossitello in particular is now heavily overgrown and virtually impenetrable.

(*ii*) *Other sites near the road*

815817 Site of a Roman building ploughed out immediately to the right of the road about 300 m. north of the Rio Vicano, near the crest. Much tile and triangular brick, a rotary quern and a little pottery, including black-glazed.

821818 Nearly a kilometre to the right of the road, on the nose of a ridge that looks south and east towards the Mola di S. Elia the ploughed-out remains of an extensive Roman building. Much building material (tufa blocks, tile, brick), paving (slabs of poor, mortary cement inlaid with black tesserae; *opus spicatum*, and scattered large, black tesserae), pottery (amphorae, terra sigillata, red polished ware) and glass. About 150 m. to the north-east a rock-cut tomb, now featureless. At this point a track, rock-cut but to no great depth, drops down to the valley and crosses the Rio Vicano in the direction of Castel Sant'Elia.

Note: It is probably significant that on both these sites pottery forms only a very modest proportion of the total visible remains. A large part of the area to the east of the road is under long-standing cultivation, done mainly with traditional methods and equipment, which misses the deeper levels, exposing such remains only as lie near the surface, and these only when (as in both the above cases) grassland is being brought back into cultivation. Many sites in this area may well have been stripped long ago to the depth of normal cultivation, and only by lucky accident can such sites be identified from surface observation.

(*d*) *La Torre dell'Isola* (Castrum Insulae) *by* M. R. Gough (figs. 7–9)

On the far side of the Fossitello the road continues up a deep, wide cutting, identical with those in the preceding sector, lined on either side with rock-cut tombs, many of them reused and enlarged in later times, and in places heavily overgrown. It reaches the level ground on the far crest still running on the same line, and then, for the first time since leaving Nepi, it diverges from its mathematically straight course in order to negotiate the difficult crossing of the Fosso dell'Isola.

Very little of the original paving is still intact along this section, but the course of the road, once identified in the undergrowth, can be traced fairly easily from the original cuttings and from the scattered *selce* blocks which have survived the stone-robber and the plough. It turns at about Pt. 815823, just after crossing the ridgeway path through the woods, and drops gently downwards along a shallow, wooded valley, running north-eastwards and keeping some 20–30 m. west of a small tributary of the Fossitello. When surveyed, in the autumn, the stream was dry, and a large number of paving blocks could be seen in the stream-bed. After about 400 m. (818829) the road turns due north for about 50 m., through a well-defined cutting, and then sharply east, across an open glade, to cross the stream. A few masonry blocks and slabs of *selce* are all that remain of the bridge, or culvert, and the crossing is now made over the rock-fall which presumably destroyed it in the first place. From this point the road hugs the high ground on the right bank, and then drops steadily with the stream towards the crossing of the Fosso dell'Isola. Here, on the right of the road, towering above it on a precipitous crag, stands the medieval fortress of La Torre dell'Isola.

The crossing was an awkward one, hemmed in on three sides by cliffs at the junction of the main stream and its tributary, of which the latter in particular is still eroding rapidly. To negotiate this, the road was carried across the tributary stream on a small bridge, now almost completely destroyed, along a short causeway, and so across a larger bridge on to the meadows beyond the main stream. In its present form the causeway is a medieval structure, built of very poor masonry, with *selce* paving blocks and large blocks of squared tufa reused in its substructures. On the other hand, the northern abutment of the main bridge, where exposed in the bank of the stream, is certainly ancient; it consists of a tough rubble core faced with coursed blocks of tufa that are of much the same dimensions as those reused in the footings of the medieval causeway.

For about 100 m. beyond the bridge the line of the road is marked by a long-established field-boundary, at the end of which it is lost, at the foot of the cliffs, in a tangle of thick undergrowth and fallen boulders. A considerable section of the cliff has here fallen away, carrying the road with it; but its ancient course is not in doubt, and is confirmed by the paving blocks scattered down the slope amid the undergrowth. It turned sharp right, climbing obliquely in a north-easterly direction, at first as a ramp cut out of the cliff face, and then as a cutting, some 9 m. wide on the average, driven up through the cliffs to the level plateau north of the Fosso dell'Isola. This cutting, which is preserved from a point about half-way up the cliffs, has deepened very considerably since antiquity, leaving many of the tombs on either side of it high and dry, far above the level of the original paving, which has

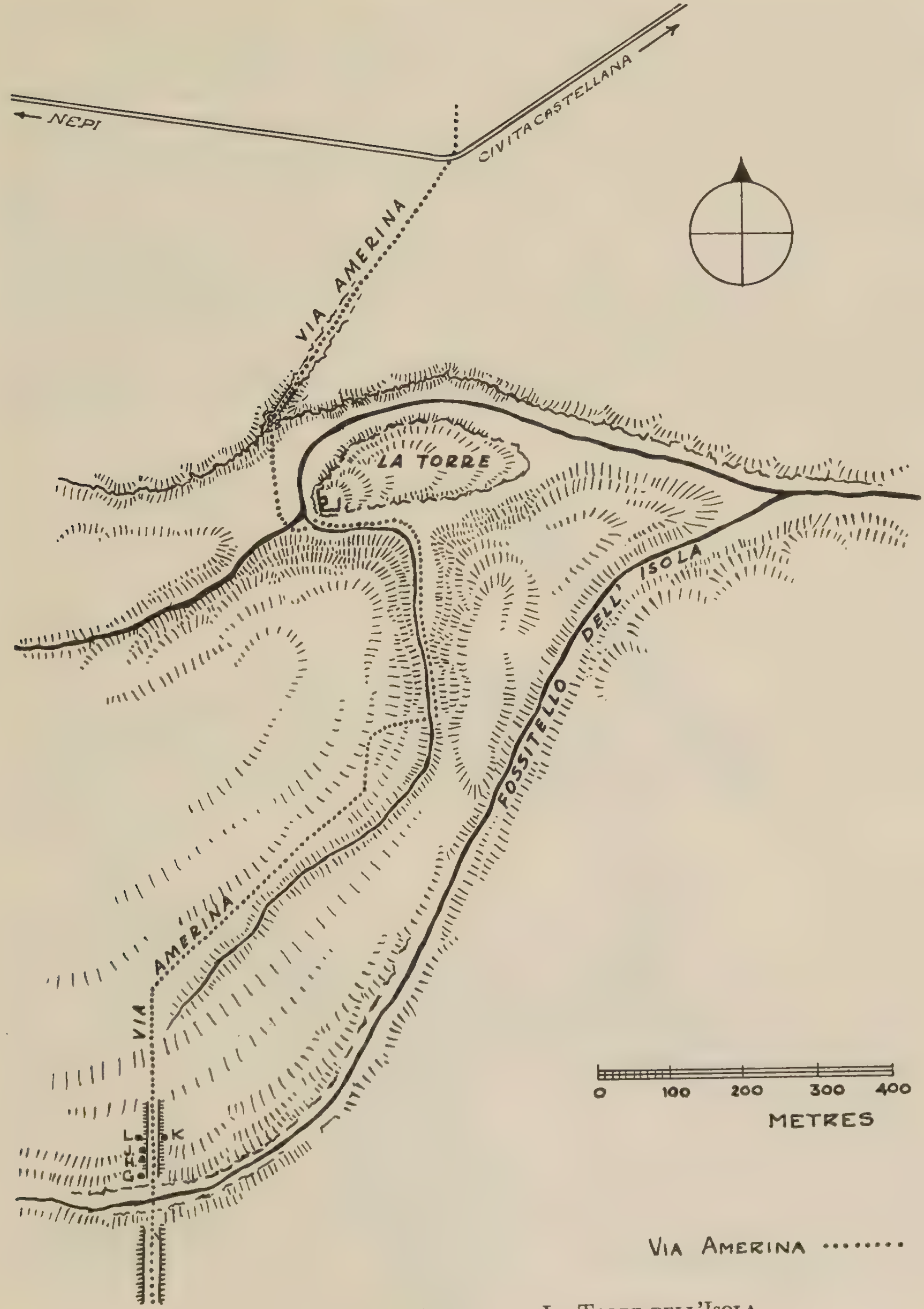


FIG. 7.—THE VIA AMERINA AT LA TORRE DELL'ISOLA

long since vanished. Down the bottom of it runs a footpath, which picks a precarious way down the debris at the foot of the cliffs, and which is nowadays the only passage from north to south for nearly a kilometre in either direction.

The castle of Torre dell'Isola (in medieval documents *Castrum Insulae*) stands on an island of rock, some 300 m. long and surrounded on all sides by sheer cliffs. Towards the west and south-west it is cut off from the main plateau by the deep and rapidly eroding valley worn by the stream that the Via Amerina follows in its descent to the river-crossing; towards the south-east by an open, grassy saddle, which is in fact the valley through which the same stream once passed, before it cut its present, steeper channel. Only in this last direction might there have been relatively easy access; and this was barred, not only by the cliffs themselves (which, as on other similar sites, may well have been steepened artificially) but also by a wall of large, squared blocks of tufa running along the crest. In the present state of the site, which is covered with trees and dense undergrowth, it has not been possible

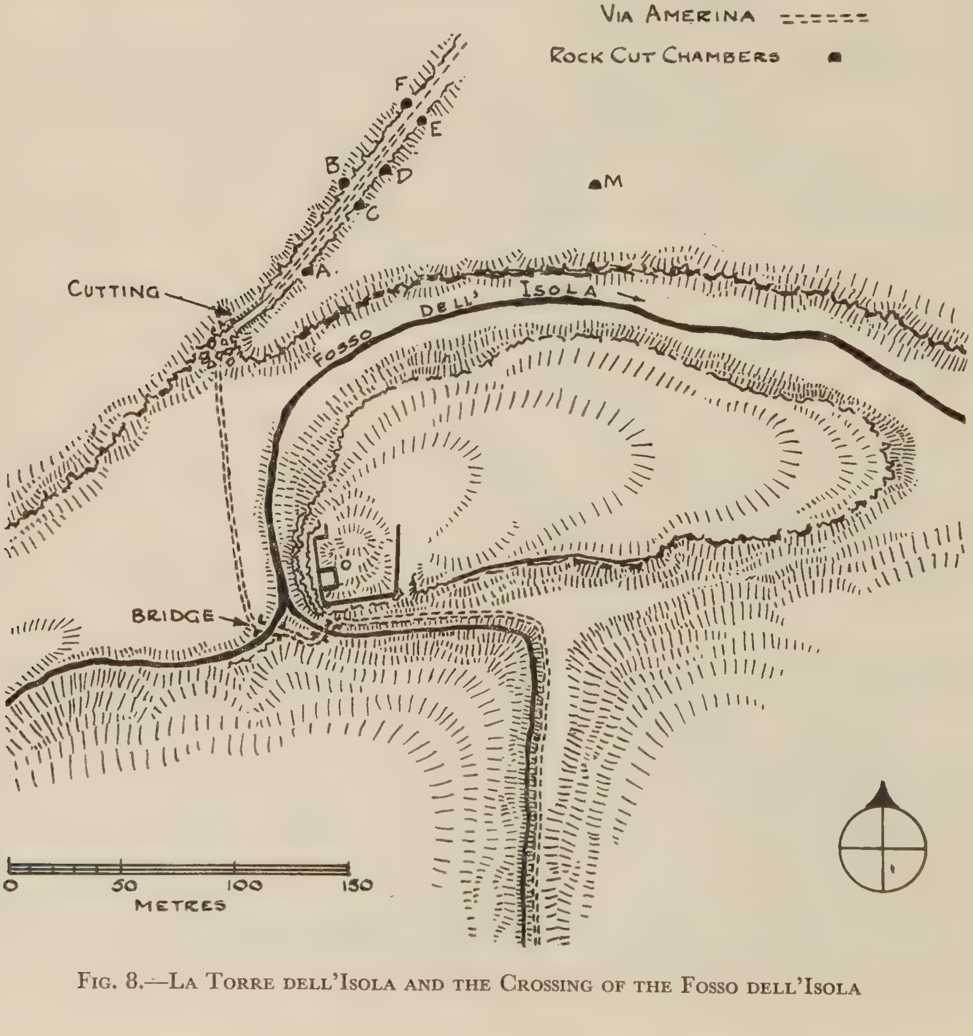


Fig. 8.—La Torre dell'Isola and the Crossing of the Fosso dell'Isola

to survey this in detail, but at the one point where it is accessible it can be seen to be built of large blocks of roughly squared tufa, laid in courses without mortar. The height of the courses ranges between (approximately) 45 cm. and 55 cm., and the individual blocks are all laid as headers, with little or no attempt to secure a bond between successive courses; the foundations are stepped into the rock, just as, for example, at Corchiano (p. 155) and Grotta Porciosa (p. 174). This is unquestionably ancient masonry, and primitive at that. One would hesitate to assign it to a date as early as that of the Early Iron Age pottery from the same site (see below), but it is certain that, before its occupation in the Middle Ages, this was a Faliscan settlement, and that at one stage this settlement was fortified.

Near the western end of the southern line of cliffs, approached by a steep path from the south is the main entrance into the fortifications, which at this point are clearly medieval. The entrance, which is perfectly straight-forward, is rock-cut, completed where necessary with masonry along the western side, which is continued northwards for 35 m. to form the east wall of an independent, roughly rectangular fortress, occupying the western extremity of the plateau. This was the highest point within the defences, and within the outer walls there is an almost square tower built of small, roughly coursed blocks of tufa (av. 0.30 × 0.20 m.) set in the same very friable mortar as was used in the castle at Ponte Nepesino. Due north of the tower is a postern gate, which gives access to the steep descent to the Fosso dell'Isola on the northern side of the crag.

The present entrance to the tower—in its eastern wall—leads into a semi-basement floor; the main floor was originally reached by means of a wooden ladder, or staircase, attached to the same wall. Above was at least one, and possibly a second, storey, from which it would have been possible to command a view over the surrounding countryside, both towards the south and northwards across the gorge.

North-east of the tower is a very large, cement-lined water cistern; also a series of rock-cut chambers, some of which were certainly used in the medieval period for sheltering animals.

(*i*) *Early Iron Age pottery from the site of Torre dell'Isola*

The following brief report is by Mr. D. R. Trump, Rome Scholar in Classical Studies, who has kindly visited the site and inspected the pottery from it.

"On the left of the main entrance to the castle, on the south side of the site, a deposit of dark earth with habitation material was exposed. The sherds from this are small, and of a hand-made ware, usually burnished. Few of the shapes can be recognised, but they include jars and carinated bowls; a horizontal handle, triangular in section, is of a type commonly found on open bowls. Unburnished sherds include a few with plain cordon decoration or indented lugs. The assemblage is, in fact, almost identical with that of late Apennine sites in Lazio, such as Pian Sultano, Formello and the Grotte Falische.[4] But the same material can be picked up within the walls of Veii, particularly along the western lip of the site.

"Three sherds throw further light on the matter. The first is part of one of the portable hearths which, when complete, are thick and drum-shaped, open at the bottom, with a 'kennel-hole' in the wall and with large perforations, usually five in number, in the top. This form of hearth is common on Apennine and later sites throughout Italy, but present on none that did not survive into at least the transitional Bronze Age-Iron Age period. The second is part of a wide and high strap handle in a highly burnished black ware, which finds much closer parallels in the Villanovan Iron Age than in the Apennine Bronze Age. The third is from a small open bowl with S-profile and a short, constricted neck; it is decorated over the shoulder with cord-impressed chevrons. This technique of decoration is quite unknown before the Villanovan Culture, and as the latest piece present can be taken to date the deposit to the ninth or early eighth century B.C.

---

[4] *Bullettino di Paletnologia Italiana*, n.s. x, 1956, p. 157; excavated in 1955 and as yet unpublished; and *Monumenti Antichi*, xxvi, 1920, col. 5, respectively. The Grotta Fabbrece, mentioned in the last article, is only 3 km. downstream from La Torre.

"The very close similarity of the material to the so-called 'Bronze Age' sites of the neighbourhood confirms the view that these are 'Bronze Age' typologically, but not chronologically, and supports that which sees the culture of the Villanovans as substantially a development from the fusion of the first urnfield elements with the Apennine Cultures (Pianello-Allumiere) without subsequent immigration."

(*ii*) *Representative tombs along the Via Amerina near Torre dell'Isola* (fig. 9)

The stretch of road just described above is rich in examples of the type of rock-cut chamber noted at Ponte Nepesino, where an ancient tomb has been modified to suit medieval or later requirements. These, in the main, are found in the cutting south of La Torre, above the Fossitello. In the northern cutting, where they are sited rather inconveniently, the tombs have survived in their original form, except one or two which have been sliced through by a split in the rock face.

Most interesting of the first variety is the pair of chambers, H and J, in the southern cutting (fig. 9, H, J). The original tomb, the flat ceiling of which still bears traces of plaster painted in red on a white ground, is now the entrance to H. Later the chamber was extended a further 6 m. into the tufa and used for stabling. Perhaps at the same time J was excavated and then connected with H by a passage way with slopes to the slightly lower level. The two grates in the entrance to H suggest that not only animals, but their owners too, were in residence.

In the northern cutting, tombs A, B, and D all survive intact. A is approximately square with a raised ledge with 'cushions' on three sides (fig. 9, A). B is less elaborate, with a single ledge, along one side and three shallow niches carved in the other two (fig. 9, B). D, like A, has ledges along three sides, but not 'cushions'; the facade was carved in relief with an architectural scheme of which two Tuscan (?) pilasters can be made out (1.80 m. high), flanking the tomb opening and their bases level with the top of it.

M is a small isolated chamber tomb, now inaccessible, on the brow of the ridge looking across towards the castle.

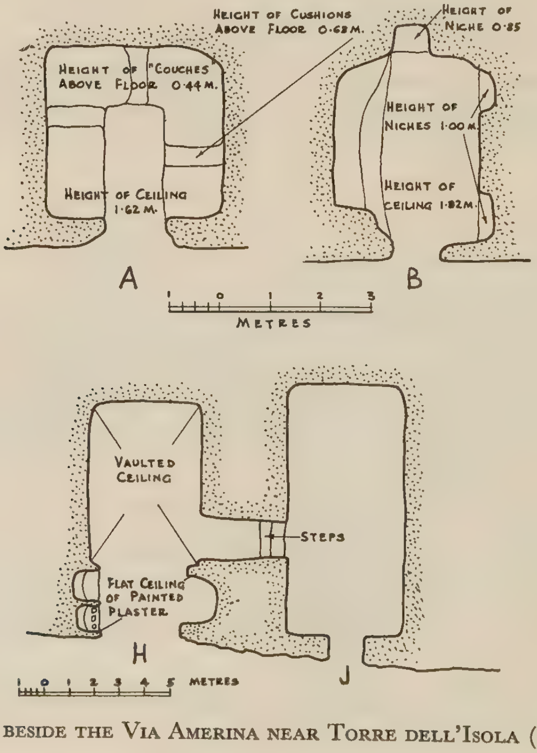

Height of Cushions Above Floor 0·68 m.
Height of Niche 0·85
Height of "Couches Above Floor 0·44 m.
Height of Ceiling 1·62 m.
Height of Niches 1·00 m.
Height of Ceiling 1·82 m.
A
B
1 0 1 2 3
Metres
Vaulted Ceiling
Steps
Flat Ceiling of Painted Plaster
H
J
1 0 1 2 3 4 5 metres

FIG. 9.—TOMBS BESIDE THE VIA AMERINA NEAR TORRE DELL'ISOLA (cf. figs. 7 and 8)

(*e*) *From Fosso dell'Isola* (*La Torre dell'Isola*) *to Falerii Novi* (figs. 10–15)

After climbing from the bed of the Fosso dell'Isola, the Via Amerina crossed the modern (eighteenth-century) road from Nepi to Civita Castellana at kilo 10,3 (819836). At this point both the Papal road and the Via Amerina bend sharply to the left, the former to pick up the line followed by the Amerina in its climb from the bed of the Fosso dell'Isola, the latter to resume its interrupted northward course towards Falerii Novi. From this point onwards the course of the Papal road was probably determined by the existence of an earlier track branching off the Amerina towards Civita Castellana, a track which must certainly have existed in the Middle Ages to serve the community of La Torre dell'Isola, and which may well go back to Roman times, although there is nothing to suggest that it was ever paved. At the fork with this track, the Amerina itself struck off sharply to the left, and from here to the walls of Falerii Novi, 3 km. distant, it follows a mathematically straight course without a single deviation (pl. XXV). On the way it had to cross no less than four of the steep-sided, and in many places precipitous, wooded valleys, that run from west to east, breaking the whole of this countryside into a series of isolated tongues of gently rolling table-land. From the modern road, however, only the first of these valleys is visible, and, across it, the line of the ancient road can be clearly seen, rising and dipping across the fields towards the distant bulk of S. Maria di Fálleri and the line of walls above the Porta del Bove, which from the distance appear to rise straight from the fields around them.

For the first 400 m. the line of the road crosses fields planted with tobacco and has been completely obliterated; the last few blocks of *selce*, lying in the ditch of the modern road, were removed in 1955. Beyond the plough, however, it is still clearly visible throughout its length, either as a wide, flat-bottomed trench leading down to the bridges that spanned the successive streams, or as a substantial field-boundary and track, leading across the open ground, dotted with displaced paving blocks and, here and there, the eroded concrete cores of Roman mausolea. Wherever the road drops below the level of the adjoining fields, the rock faces on either side are honeycombed with tombs. No attempt has here been made to compile a complete list of these, but a few of the more distinctive are described below, together with a fuller account of a short representative section, that immediately to the north of the Fosso Maggiore.

Of the bridges crossing the successive streams, that over the southernmost, the Fosso Tre Ponti, is intact and, except for superficial damage caused by the heavy undergrowth growing on and around it, it is in fine condition. As will be seen from the accompanying survey (fig. 11; pl. XXIII, XXIV), it is of simple but robust design, built throughout of tufa blocks, laid without mortar and without any use of cramps or dowels; the exposed faces are laid in alternate courses of headers and stretchers, and the individual blocks are strongly but crudely drafted, a feature which is most prominent on the exposed ends of the header courses, and which is strictly functional, its object being to reduce to a minimum the work of dressing the individual blocks. The core, which by analogy with the other bridges on this road was certainly of masonry, is nowhere visible. There is a projecting springing-course within the arch, which served to carry the centring during construction (there are no scaffolding holes), and the voussoirs of the facing are cut to fit in with the

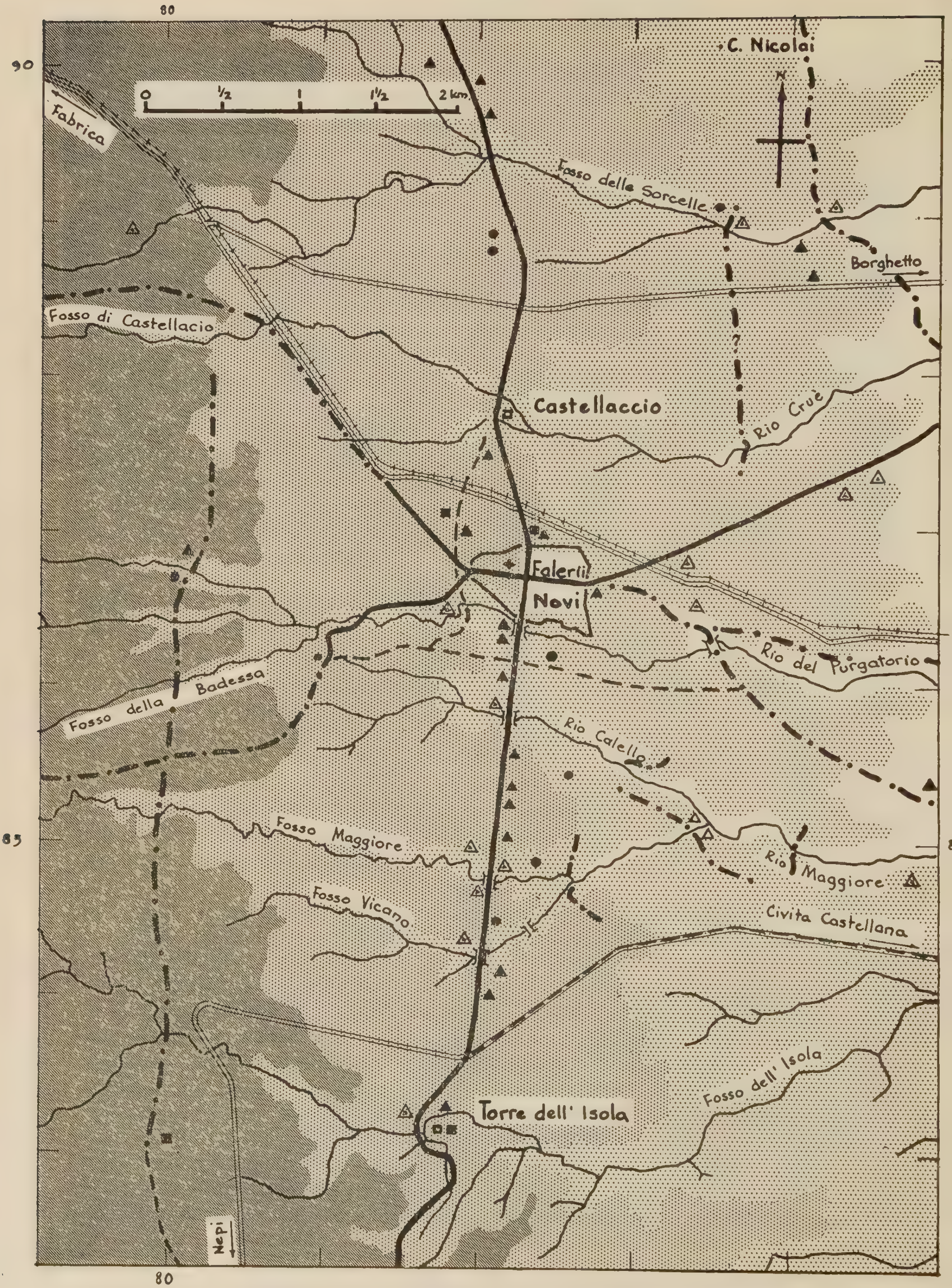


FIG. 10.—THE VIA AMERINA FROM TORRE DELL'ISOLA TO THE FABRICA-BORGHETTO ROAD (for conventions used, see fig. 2a)

horizontal coursing of the abutments. The most distinctive features are two groups of rectangular buttresses, two outer pairs which rise to the full height of the bridge, one on either face of the two abutments, and two inner pairs which rise to, and incorporate, the springing-course of the arch, presumably in order to give the actual arch itself a wider and firmer seating. The south-eastern inner buttress has sheered off (the result of insufficient bonding into the main structure) and those on the west face are obscured by heavy foliage, but it appears that the block visible in plate XXIV, *b*, above the springing course of the remaining, north-eastern buttress, is in position; its purpose is obscure.

The structure of the bridge is uniform throughout, without any trace of later modifications or repairs; there is nothing in the surviving remains to suggest that it is anything but a part of the initial lay-out of the road, uniform in conception and execution with the approaches at either end. The use of bridges of this general form and dimensions is implicit in the whole scheme of the road, and it seems scarcely credible that, if this bridge had been rebuilt at some later date, there would not be some trace of earlier work remaining in one or other of the abutments (such as we do find, for example, in the remains of the next bridge to the north, that over the Fosso Maggiore). The point needs emphasis, since it is rather surprising to find the outer ends of the voussoirs fitted in to the coursing of the adjoining masonry, rather than describing a circle concentric with the intrados; this is a feature which one meets, for example, in the Arco dei Pantani in the Forum of Augustus, but for which it is not easy to find early parallels. In all other respects, however, the masonry is fully consistent with a date in the third quarter of the third century, and there are features, such as the very inadequate bonding of the buttresses, which are just as obviously early. Taking the evidence as a whole, there seems to be every reason to believe that this bridge is contemporary with the construction of the road.

Of the remaining three bridges between the Fosso dell'Isola and Falerii Novi, substantial traces remain in each case, heavily muffled in vegetation, but enough to show that they were similar in construction and general lay-out to the Ponte Fosso Tre Ponti, with trenched approaches and a horizontal carriage-way, carried on massive abutments of solid tufa masonry and a single, central arch. The Rio Calello is quite a small stream, and the bridge over it was a correspondingly modest structure. The valley of the Fosso Maggiore is, on the other hand, a very substantial obstacle and, to judge from the remains of the two abutments, the bridge, though not necessarily very wide in span, must have been an impressive mass of masonry, with the carriage-way running some 12–15 m. above the bed of the stream. A short stretch of the east face and core of the north abutment is exposed, and it can be seen to consist of coursed tufa masonry identical in character with that of the Fosso Tre Ponti bridge. The south abutment, on the other hand, is of quite different construction (fig. 12). Within the short stretch cleared it can be seen to be bedded on a foundation of concrete, consisting of fragments of tufa set in a rather friable, greyish-white mortar (pl. XXIV, *d*), upon which rests a vertical wall of three (stepping down to four) courses of carefully dressed tufa blocks, each course 58–60 cm. high; above this point the facing is stepped back, course by course (pl. XXIII, *c*). At the right-hand end of this cleared stretch, where it breaks off just short of the actual inner face of the arch, it can be seen to be built up against and

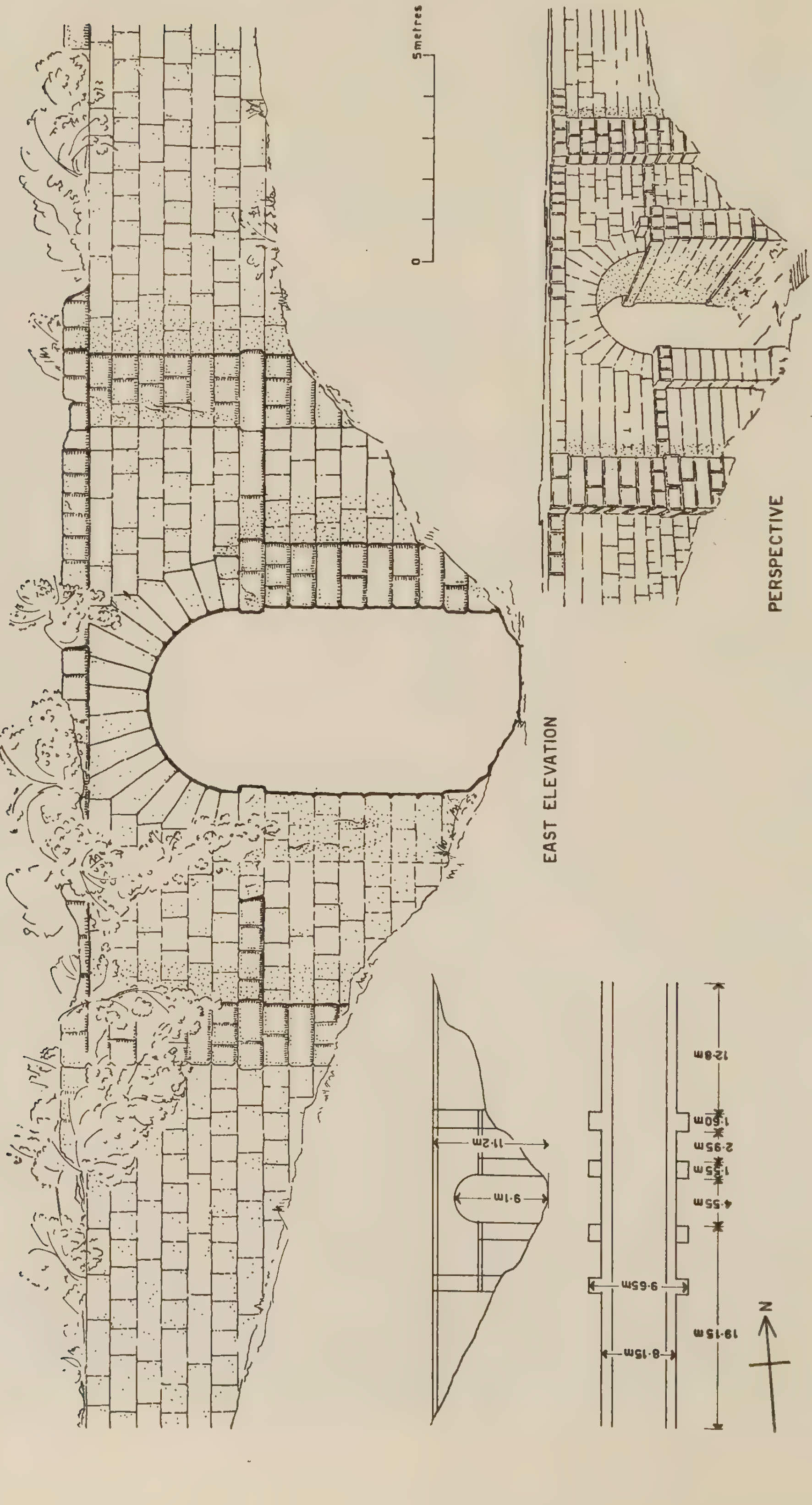


Fig. 11.—Roman Bridge on the Via Amerina, across the Fosso Tre Ponti

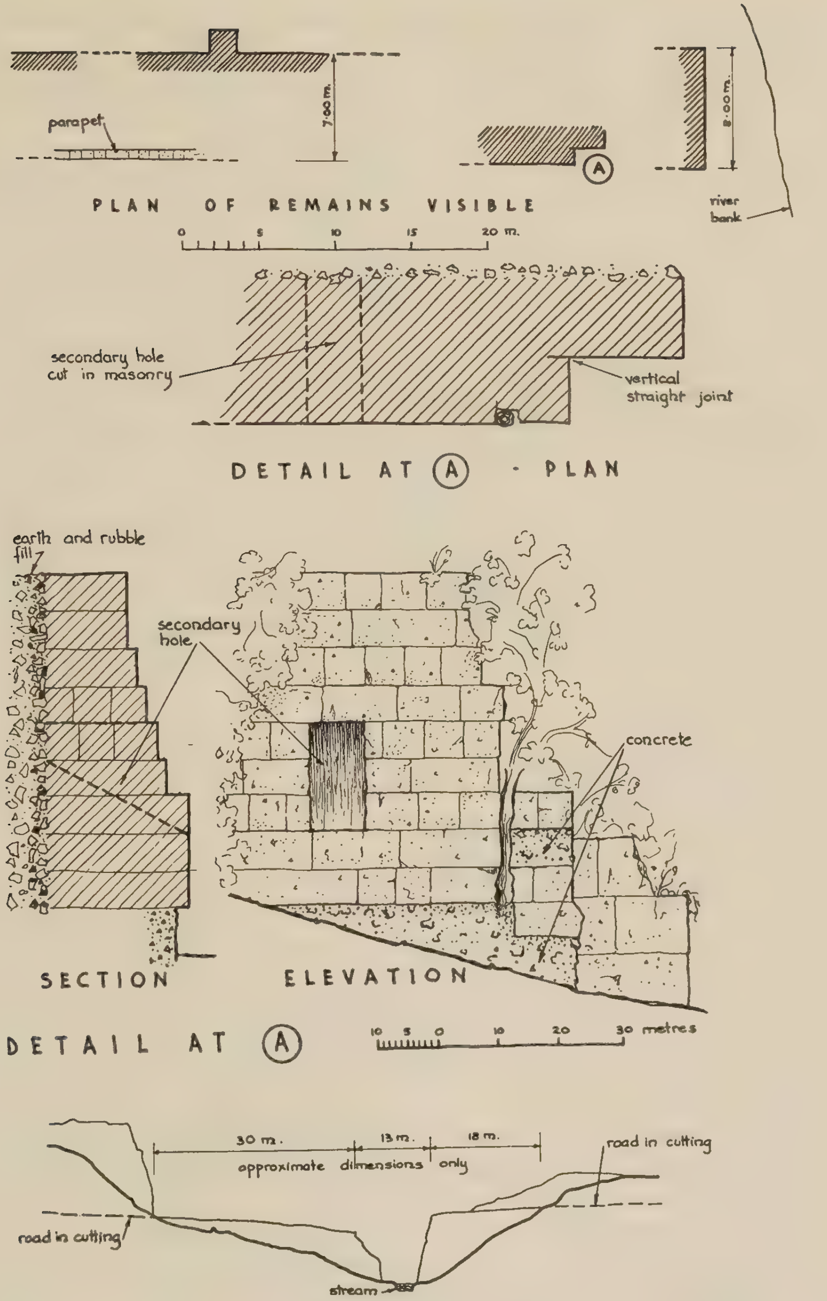


FIG. 12.—ROMAN BRIDGE ON THE VIA AMERINA, ACROSS THE FOSSO MAGGIORE

to incorporate the three lowest surviving courses of an earlier structure, built of much larger tufa blocks laid in courses about 1 m. high. Towards the left-hand end of the same stretch a small shelter, cut into the facing and clearly secondary, has exposed a part of the masonry in section, showing that it is continuous to a depth of no more than 1.20 m., presumably diminishing upwards with the stepping-back of the face; beyond this point the core consists of an amorphous fill of earth and large, irregular blocks. This south abutment, with its concrete footings, battered facing and rough core represents an altogether more sophisticated and economical approach to the structural problems involved than that implied by the solid masonry of its fellow on the north bank. It clearly represents a radical reconstruction, undertaken perhaps as the result of a settlement in the original abutment due to faulty foundations. As might be expected, the reconstruction did not extend to that part of the abutment which lies farthest from the stream. Here a short stretch of the west face is exposed, revealing masonry and a buttress identical with those of the Fosso Tre Ponti bridge. There is also a pier-face exposed in the actual stream bed, but without further clearance it is impossible to say to which period this belongs.

The next stream to the north, the Rio Calello, is far smaller, and the bridge over it follows the same general plan—cutting, abutment, single arch, abutment, cutting —but on a correspondingly smaller scale, the arch-span being no more than 4–5 m. The masonry, so far as it can be distinguished through the undergrowth, appears to be identical with that of the bridges over the Fosso Tre Ponti and the Fosso Maggiore (first period).

The remaining bridge, that of the Rio del Purgatorio below the walls of Falerii, was more ambitious. The south approach follows the same pattern as that of the previous bridges, dropping through a cutting flanked by the remains of two large Roman mausolea, with a massive abutment of solid tufa masonry, of which only the core can now be seen, built of unusually large tufa blocks (68–70 cm.). On the north bank the bridge was sited so as to make use of a prominent rocky platform, which projects from the cliff-face into the stream bed, affording a natural abutment, upon which the road was carried straight up, entering the city by the south gate on the brow of the cliffs above; the few remains of ancient masonry on this bank are of normal dimensions. The line of the road at this point has been obscured by that of a later track, which cuts across the neck of the platform and winds obliquely up a revetted ramp, to enter the plateau through a break in the ancient walls a short distance to the east. But the position of the Roman gate is not in doubt, since one jamb is still in place. The determining feature in the siting of the gate, and hence of one of the town's axial roads, was evidently the position of the bridge and the rocky outcrop in the gorge below.

Apart from the tombs that line practically the whole of this stretch of road there do not seem to be many ancient structures or sites of importance along it. The area to the right, towards Civita Castellana, certainly contained a great deal of settlement, most of the superficial traces of which have been destroyed by long-standing cultivation, leaving only the ancient rock-cut tracks that traverse the gorges, a widespread scatter of Roman pottery, and an occasional small site exposed by recent ploughing. To the left much of the country is still covered with thick scrub; but the existence of a well-defined Faliscan road 2 km. to the west (p. 177) confirms

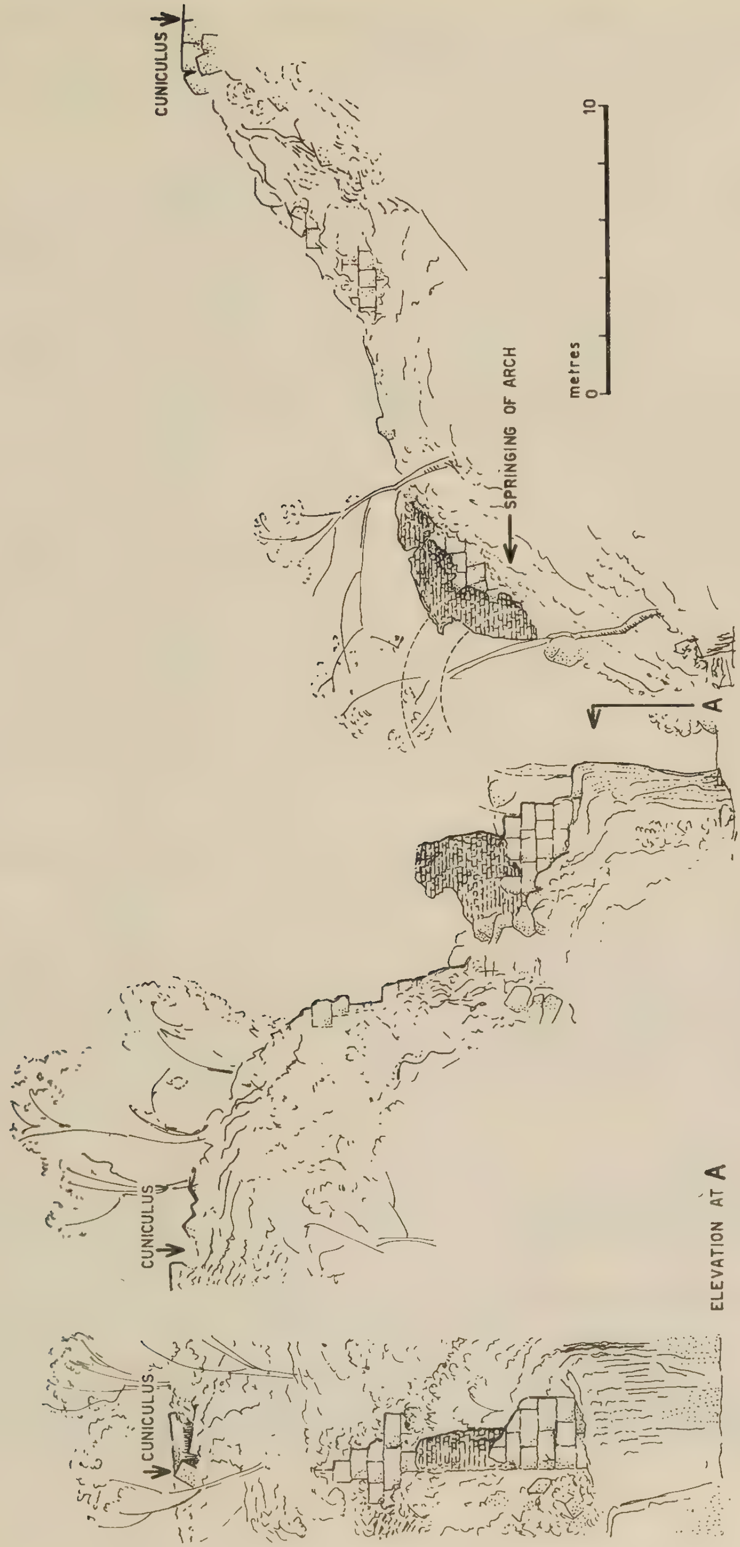


Fig. 13.—The Ancient and Medieval Aqueduct across the Fosso Tre Ponti

that this represents a medieval reversion rather than a survival of the primeval forest through Roman times. Another Faliscan road is that which ran westwards from the cutting in the nose of the promontory between the Fosso Maggiore and the Rio Calello (p. 141), which must have crossed the Via Amerina somewhere on the level ground between these two streams.

The most important surviving structure adjoining this stretch of the Via Amerina is the destroyed arch of an aqueduct spanning the Fosso Tre Ponti about 300 m. below the Amerina crossing (fig. 13; for its location, see fig. 14). The remains are of two periods: those of a single arch, of approximately 5 m. span (the scar of the curved outer face of the lowest voussoirs can be made out at the south end) built of coursed tufa blocks (average 55 cm.), laid without mortar and stepped up the hillside at either end; after the arch had fallen, a secondary structure of coarse medieval concrete was built upon what survived of the masonry of the central span. The original structure was skilfully sited so as to take advantage of a shelf immediately above the point where the valley widens and deepens into a considerable gorge; even so the *specus* must have been some 18 m. above the present stream-bed, and it is not impossible that the superstructure may have been lightened by an upper arch or series of arches. The *specus* at either end is now almost completely choked, but at the south end it can be seen to be turning eastwards, downstream. When it is recalled that Civita Castellana today draws a part of its water-supply from a point in the same valley a few hundred meters to the east, there can be little doubt that here we have what remains of an aqueduct supplying the small Roman settlement that grew up on the site of Falerii Veteres. It was reactivated in medieval times and, as has so often happened in Italy, later municipal benefactors were content to follow the lines broadly established by their Roman predecessors.

(*i*) *Cemetery on either side of the road immediately north of the Fosso Maggiore crossing* (figs. 14, 15)

It is listed in detail as offering a representative cross-section of the sorts of tomb in common use in the Via Amerina cemeteries (description based on notes by Guy Duncan).

1–3. Group of three unusually elaborate and very regularly cut tombs, excavated in the face of the quarry from which the stone for the bridge was taken (pls. XXII, *c*, *d*; XXXIII, *c*). Two (1–2) are almost identical (fig. 15). Note the circular shields on either side of the door and the door-frame itself, both traditional features; the latter betrays its Roman date, however, by the incongruous addition of *ansae*, indicating presumably that the moulding framed a painted inscription. Note also the small rectangular chamber opening across the entrance-corridor, with a shaft leading up to a terrace above. The westernmost of the three tombs (3) is a simpler version of the other two, with a similar entrance-corridor and shaft, but with only a small rectangular forecourt and a plain rectangular burial-chamber (3.50 × 5 m.).

4–10. Cut in the east face of the cutting at distances ranging from 40 to 150 m. northwards from its southern end:

4. Simple rectangular chamber (3.50 × 2.50 m.) with two lateral funerary benches; flat ceiling and traces of discoloured plaster. The facade was carved to simulate coursed masonry (blocks 24 cm. high) and bears, to the right of the door, the inscription:

IN AGR(o) P(edes) XVIII

In the context the figures 'in agro' must refer to a plot of ground at surface level above the tomb.

5. Rectangular chamber, with a small antechamber similar to that of 1–3 but lacking the vertical shaft. Funerary benches on three sides; flat ceiling. Enough of the plaster remains to show the original scheme, broad red bands dividing the white ground into panels; red ceiling. The plans of this and of the previous tomb continue a long-standing Etruscan tradition.

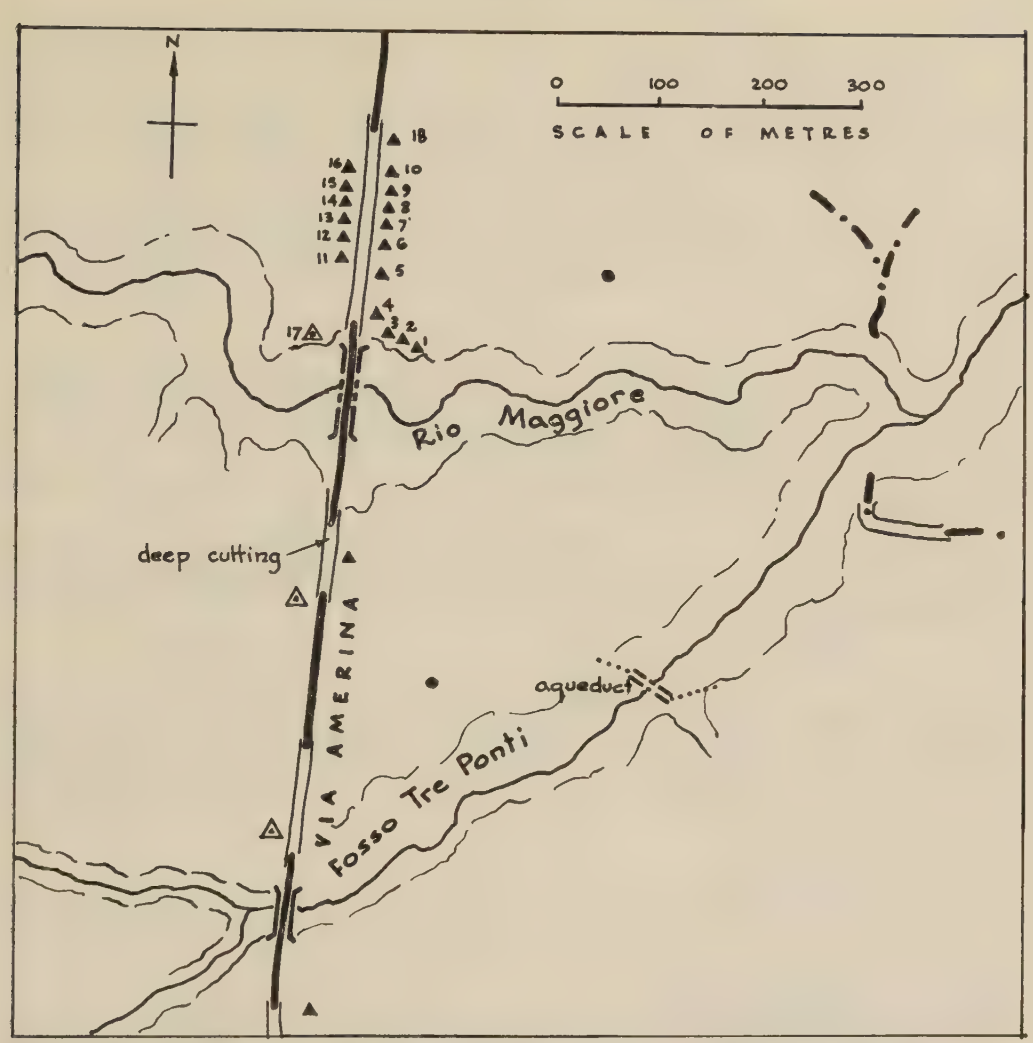


FIG. 14.—THE VIA AMERINA AT THE FOSSO TRE PONTI AND THE RIO MAGGIORE, FOR COMPARISON WITH PLATE XXV (for the conventions used, see fig. 2a)

6. Small square tomb with 3 rectangular loculi.
7. Oblique, irregularly-shaped tomb with 3 loculi.
8. Square tomb (3.50 m.) with concave roof. Each of the three main walls contains an arched grave-recess flanked by two pairs of arched niches for ash-urns; there is a fourth grave-recess over the door. Nearby, a small white marble column, diam. 10 cm., partly buried.
9. No significant detail preserved.
10. Partly collapsed columbarium, approx. 5 × 2 m. surviving. 37 niches in two irregular rows, with a very simple continuous arched moulding over some of those in the lower row. One inhumation recess, possibly later.

11–16. Cut in the west face of the cutting (95–160 m.) from the south end:

11–14. Four tombs with similar ground plans, square (4 m. approx.), with 3 rectangular grave-recesses; two had groined roofs, and two barrel vaults. The façade of one (12) resembles that of 4 in being cut to simulate masonry.

15–16. No significant detail.

17. Cemetery of simple niched tombs (see below) cut in the face of a second, and more irregular, quarry to the west of the road.

18. Prominent mausoleum (pt. 208) standing on the eastern edge of the cutting near the crest of the rise (180 m. from the southern end). Only the core survives, rectangular (2·80 × 2.30 × approx. 9 m.), tufa set in grey mortar. The facing included travertine and there seems to have been some sort of recessed features near the top.

In addition to the tombs listed above, both sides of the cutting are honeycombed with burial recesses, often in several tiers; some are rectangular, most are arched. A frequent feature both of these recesses and of the tombs, wherever the façade is preserved, is a rectangular recess, presumably to hold an inscribed plaque.

(*ii*) *Other noteworthy tombs along this stretch of the road*

820840 One of several cut in the walls of the broad, shallow cutting immediately south of the shallow re-entrant valley that runs obliquely across the road just south of the Fosso Tre Ponti. Facade destroyed; interior, 1.95 m. square with three arched recesses, 90–95 cm. deep; cross-vaulted. Considerable traces of white plaster with red borders.

821842 Large square tomb, adapted as a stable, 80 m. to the right of the road. Flat ceiling, tiers of rectangular loculi.

820844 Square, flat-roofed columbarium (3 m.) planned for fifteen arched niches, of which only three of the five on the north side were ever cut; red paint on walls and in niches. Later used for inhumations. Carved on the façade, on either side of the door, in letters 15 cm. high, is the inscription:

(*left*) IN FRO[nte]
P. [. . .]

(*right*) IN AGRO
P. XII

On the level ground between the Fosso Maggiore and the Rio Calello beside the line of the road, are the recognisable remains of at least four mausolea of the same general type as that described above (*i*, no. 18). One of these has two blocks of travertine plinth *in situ*; there are marble details lying near another. Besides these, traces of concrete structures (in at least one case brick-faced) visible in the plough along the same stretch came no doubt from other mausolea, now completely destroyed.

(*iii*) *Other sites adjoining the road*

821844 Small Roman site ploughed out recently about 100 m. to the right of the road, immediately north of the Fosso Tre Ponti. Brick and tile, black-glazed, terra sigillata, red polished wares; glass.

823844 Roman and medieval aqueduct over the Fosso Tre Ponti (see p. 103; fig. 13).

824847 (approx.) Pasqui and Cozza refer to the promontory between the Fosso Tre Ponti and the Fosso Maggiore as a Faliscan site, under the name of 'Torre Stroppa.' It is now covered with scrub; along the edges there is a considerable scatter of ancient pottery, including black-glazed, all much abraded as if washed out of ploughland.

824849 Scatter of brick and coarse pottery from a Roman site, now destroyed except for a drainage *cuniculus* discharging into the Fosso Maggiore. Below the point of discharge many sherds, including black-glazed.

825854 Heavy scatter of tile, together with some pottery (including amphorae and black-glazed), extending north-westwards from the western outbuildings of the Casale Messano, at the head of a shallow re-entrant valley which drops towards the Rio Calello. Cut in the outcropping rock-face near the head of this valley, on the east side, are two rectangular grave *loculi*.

826848 To the north and south of the junction of the two *fossi* are two ancient rock-cut trackways. That to the north, though artificial, is of no great size; that on the south, on the other hand, is a cutting of typically Etruscan form, deep and narrow (less than 2 m. at the narrowest points) with a drainage gully down one side. At this point the tufa cliffs overlie an exposed seam of softer rock and the cliff faces are damaged by many falls. If the *cuniculus* of the aqueduct ran along the edge of the valley it has almost certainly been destroyed. There are, on the other hand, traces of a longitudinal *cuniculus* of uncertain purpose at the base of the cliffs on the north side of the Fosso Maggiore, about 200 m. above the junction.

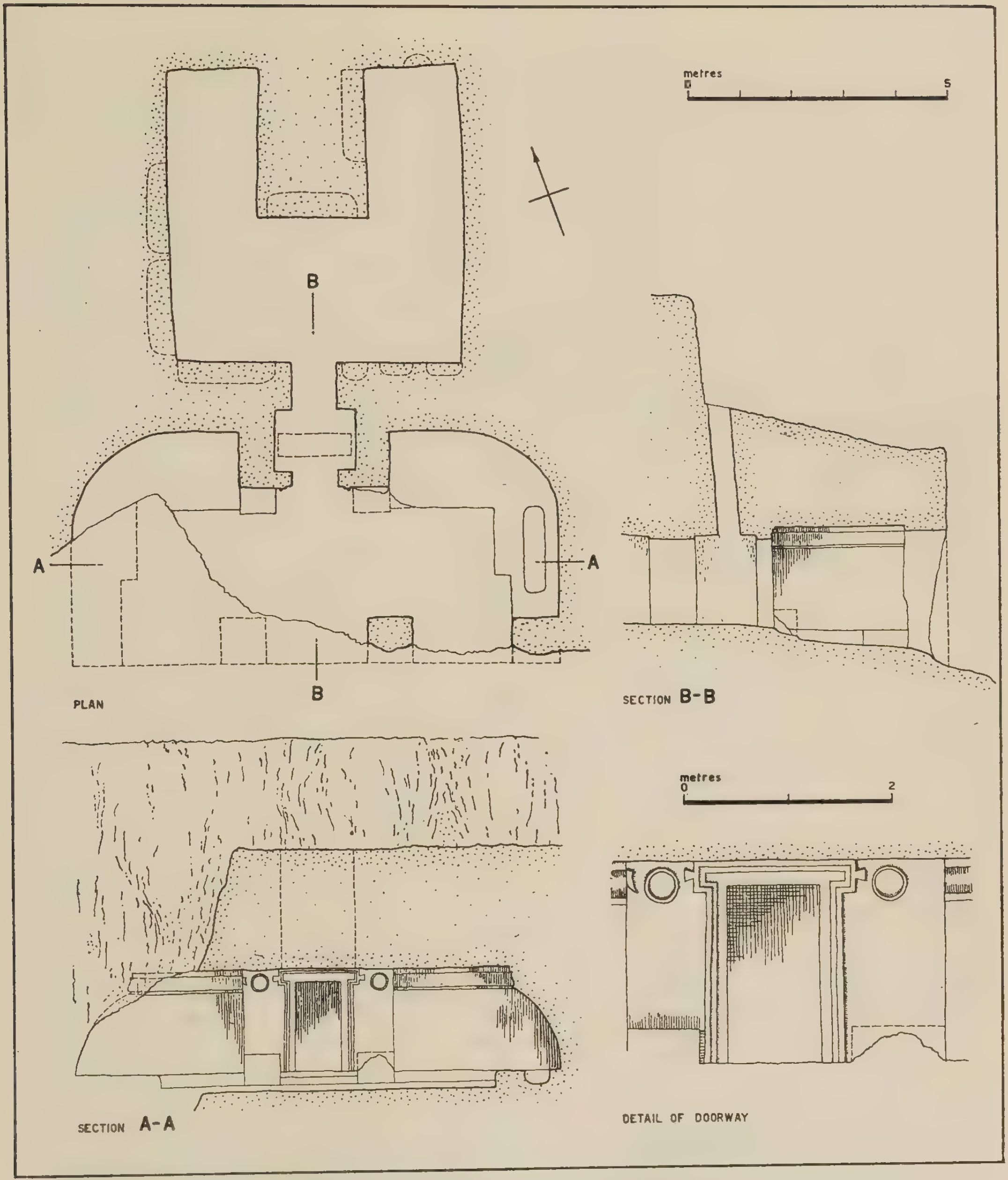


Fig. 15.—Tomb (Fig. 14,1) beside the Via Amerina at the Crossing of the Rio Maggiore

(*f*) *From Falerii Novi to Santa Maria del Soccorso* (*Corchiano*) (fig. 10, p. 98; fig. 19, p. 119)

After entering the south gate of Falerii Novi the Via Amerina continued straight across the town, crossing the main east-west road at right angles, and leaving by the north gate (pl. XXVI; see comment on p. 199). Here, for the first time since leaving Fosso dell'Isola, it changed direction and swung slightly to the left; although the country to the north is in general easier, the two considerable gorges of the Rio Fratta and the Fosso delle Chiare Fontane evidently induced the Roman road-makers to deviate slightly from their previous line. It first heads for a point at which there is an easy crossing of the headwaters of the Rio Cruè (Fosso di Castellaccio). Outside the town the road itself has been destroyed by cultivation, but the line of it is clearly visible in air-photographs and can be picked up here and there on the ground where *selce* blocks have been ploughed out, at first running across level ground and then dropping down a broad, shallow natural depression towards the stream. Near the head of this depression, on the left, it passes the eroded concrete core of a Roman mausoleum. Just before reaching the stream it is joined by the track which skirts the western edge of the walls of Falerii (p. 158); and on the right, guarding the crossing, there are the remains of a small medieval fortress, 'Il Castellaccio' (fig. 16).

This stands on the south bank of the stream on a low, rocky knoll, the edges of which have been trimmed back to a vertical face to delimit an irregular, elongated eminence, measuring at the extremities some 75 m. by 30 m. and rising from 3½ to 7 m. above the surrounding meadows. Some considerable part at any rate of the scarping dates back to antiquity, since, cut into the vertical face at the western corner, and again towards the southern end, there are several ancient tombs. The surviving remains are, however, for the most part those of a small medieval fortress, the builders of which have made use of the existing knoll, trimming the rock faces and, where necessary, adding a curtain wall along the crest. The entrance was near the west end of the south-west long side, facing the track. Here the vertical, rock-cut face is broken by a narrow ramp, spanned by an arch, of which the right-hand jamb is still standing, flanked by an embrasure. The walling is of rough, mortared tufa blocks, the arch itself being of paler, finer quality tufa; the form and workmanship suggest a thirteenth-century or early fourteenth-century date. Within the entrance and to the right, at the highest point of the knoll, are the collapsed remains of a rectangular medieval structure, possibly a tower, of coarse, concreted rubble. Two other features may be assigned to this period: two rock-cut *cuniculi*, which drain towards the stream, and a large number of rectangular grave-*loculi* cut into the rock-face along the north-east long side. The drainage *cuniculi*, indistinguishable from those which we find, for example, in Roman Falerii, are a useful reminder of the durability of such simple, functional items and of the danger of using them (as has often been done in the past) as an index of the antiquity of an inhabited site.

The stream is shallow and hard-bottomed and, if there was ever a bridge, it has vanished, leaving no trace. On the north side the ground slopes rather more steeply, and here the line of the ancient road is marked by a deep cutting, partly filled with undergrowth, which climbs to the crest and emerges on to the open ploughland

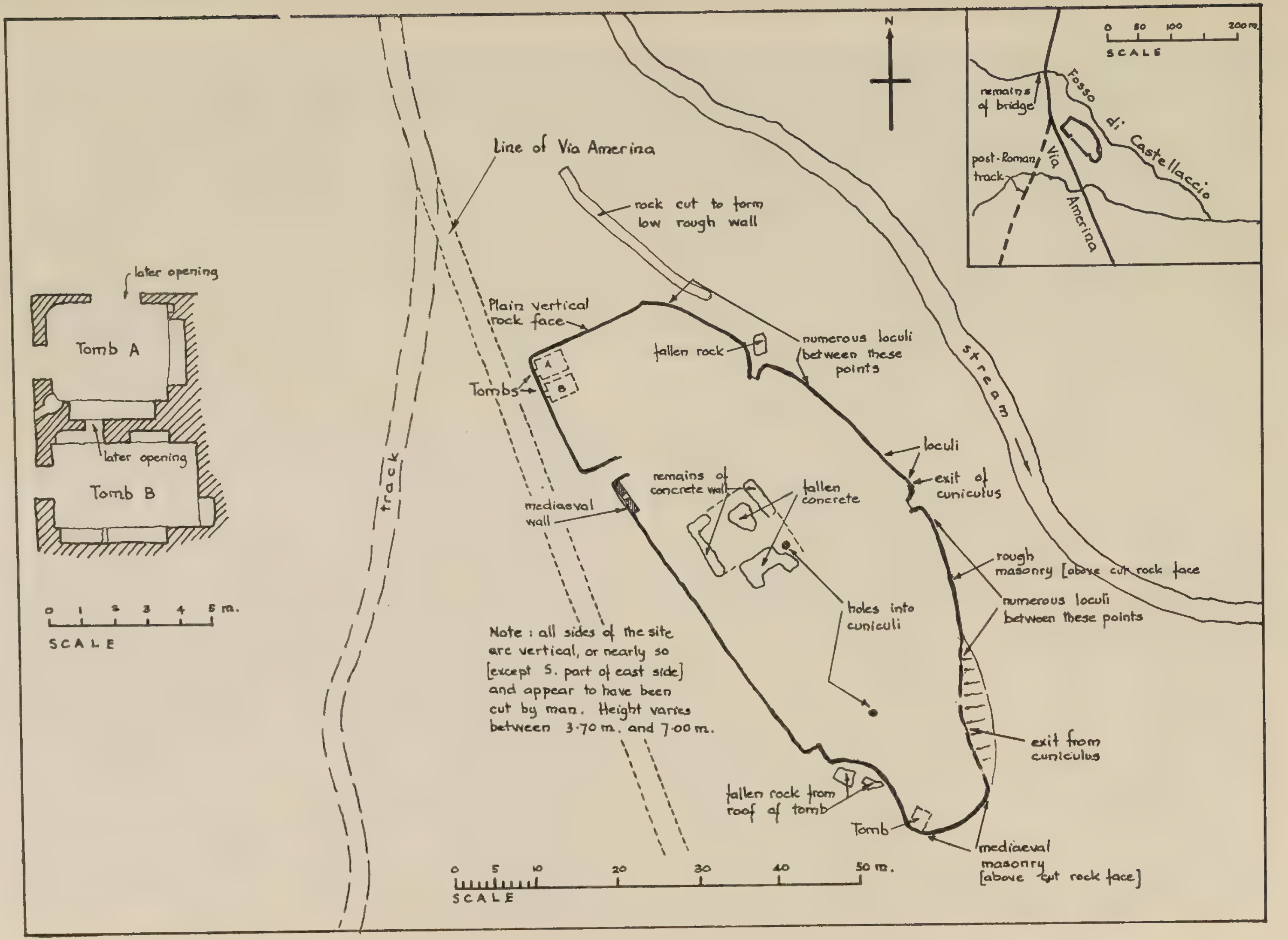

Line of Via Amerina
rock cut to form low rough wall
Plain vertical rock face
Tombs
A
B
fallen rock
numerous loculi between these points
stream
loculi
exit of cuniculus
remains of concrete wall
fallen concrete
mediaeval wall
rough masonry [above cut rock face
numerous loculi between these points
holes into cuniculi
exit from cuniculus
fallen rock from roof of tomb
Tomb
mediaeval masonry [above cut rock face]
track
Note: all sides of the site are vertical, or nearly so [except S. part of east side] and appear to have been cut by man. Height varies between 3·70 m. and 7·00 m.
0 5 10 20 30 40 50 m.
SCALE
N
later opening
Tomb A
later opening
Tomb B
0 1 2 3 4 5 m.
SCALE
0 50 100 200 m.
SCALE
remains of bridge
Fosso di Castellaccio
post-Roman track
Via
Amerina

FIG. 16. IL CASTELLACCIO, 1 KM. NORTH OF FALERII NOVI

bordering the modern road from Fabrica di Roma to Borghetto. Here it has been completely destroyed; in the autumn of 1956 all that remained to mark its course was a scatter of ploughed-out paving-blocks, heading for a point just west of the culvert at kilo 5.3 on the modern road.

To the north of the road a further belt of ploughland has obliterated almost all the ancient features. But the line can (or could until very recently) be seen where a shallow trench cuts through a rocky outcrop just north of the road; and there are a few *selce* blocks lying loose at the edge of the woodland into which it plunges, some 300 m. to the north, and is for a short time lost. For some reason that is no longer clear, this section of the road seems to have gone out of use at an early date, and to have been replaced by the cart-track that leaves the road at right-angles about 200 m. to the west, at kilo 5.1. This track, which continues southwards and winds by a devious route down to the Castellaccio crossing, is presumably the northward prolongation of the medieval road past Santa Maria di Fálleri; and the *selce* blocks that now mark its course must have been robbed from the older road, at a date when there was still considerable local traffic. For about 500 m. north of the modern road the ancient and the medieval road follow separate lines, converging finally where the latter swings sharply left, through a wide but short and shallow cutting, to cross the Fosso delle Sorcelle just below the junction of three streams. Three or four large tufa blocks in position on the south bank of the stream are probably what remains of the bridge. Beyond, another similar cutting carries the road up out of the Fosso, and it continues on the same general alignment for nearly two kilometres, across gently rolling, cultivated country, until it reaches the next major obstacle in its path, the deep, precipitous gorge of the Rio Fratta, the stream that flows past the south side of Corchiano. For the greater part of this distance the road is buried, but scattered *selce* blocks confirm the line, and the original paving can be seen in section at several points, notably about 150 m. south of the Casale Pilera (816910); and some 350 m. south of the same *casale*, where the old line coincides for a short distance with a track that is still in use, there are exposed stretches of the old road-surface. Considerable stretches are also preserved and are in places exposed just south of the Rio Fratta. It is noteworthy that along this whole stretch of road there are several of the wide, shallow cuttings which are characteristic also of the stretch from Nepi to Falerii.

All along this section of the road the cultivation is of long standing and the relative fewness of the visible remains of ancient sites has probably no more significance than it has under the very similar conditions prevailing to the north of Nepi (see p. 91). The principal surviving monument is the prominent medieval tower that stands beside the road on the southern lip of the Rio Fratta, serving as a look-out and guarding the approach to this important road-crossing.

814915 Medieval tower, originally about 3 m. square, immediately to the right of the Via Amerina at the point where it begins to drop into the valley of the Rio Fratta (pl. XXIX, *c*). The two surviving walls are of quite well coursed, brown tufa (courses, 32–35 cm.) and were built into a re-entrant angle of an already existing, larger structure (dimensions from east to west, approx. 15 m.); the latter was built in a poor rubblework, consisting of small lumps of pale grey tufa laid in irregular courses in a soft, whitish mortar, and it has completely collapsed. The tower had a door at ground-level, and there is evidence of at least two upper storeys.

816907 Scattered sherds, including sigillata, in a vineyard to the right of the Amerina, just north of a small stream.

820895 Thin scatter of pottery in the plough at the edge of the wood, just to the left of Amerina; including black-glazed and sigillata.

821891 Widespread scatter of tiles in the plough, also a few Roman sherds, including sigillata and red polished wares.

822895 Some poor tombs are reported as having been found on the right of the Via Amerina after its crossing of the Fosso delle Sorcelle; a few fragments of black-glazed ware (information from Signor Bracci).

823885 Beside the Amerina to the left, 150 m. north of the Fabrica-Borghetto road, a short section of an underground rock-cut passage running parallel with the ancient road.

The level ground that contains these last three sites bears the possibly significant name of Piano delle Colonnette.

(*g*) *Corchiano* (figs. 17, 18)

The Via Amerina crossed the headwaters of the Rio Fratta just below the junction of three of its principal constituent streams, the Fosso della Ficaccia and the Fosso delle Ferriere, which unite about 400 m. upstream, and the nameless tributary which joins them from the north-west immediately above the modern viaduct. Almost immediately below the crossing the banks close in on either side to form one of the tufa-cliffed gorges characteristic of the central Faliscan territory. But for a short distance there is relatively easy access from both banks, and the modern road from Fabrica di Roma to Corchiano and the viaduct carrying the railway from Civita Castellana to Viterbo are only the two most recent users of what for over two millennia has been a natural crossing-point for anybody travelling north and south along the belt of comparatively level ground at the foot of the eastern slopes of Monte Cimino.

The modern motor road from Fabrica di Roma winds steeply down from the south-west, across the river, and up through the low cliffs on the far bank, on a wide curve, to head off eastwards along the crest, towards Corchiano. Immediately to the left of it are the embankment and viaduct of the Viterbo railway, which, after running beside the road most of the way from Fabrica, at this point swings sharply off north-westwards, towards Vignanello. Immediately alongside the road, to the east, at the south end of the bridge, rises the massive bulk of the fine fifteenth-century church of Santa Maria del Soccorso (pl. XXVIII, *a*, *b*); and opposite it, in the cliffs of the north bank, is a conspicuous group of ancient rock-cut tombs. These and the stream itself, and the brown, scrub-covered cliffs of the winding gorge, are the principal features of the present-day scene. Only on closer acquaintance does it become apparent that they are overlaid upon an earlier pattern, the main lines of which were determined in Roman times.

The main Roman feature is, of course, the Via Amerina itself, which crossed the site from south to north in an almost straight line (pl. XXVIII, *b*). From the southern crest of the valley it headed straight for the bridge, a steep descent interrupted here and there by cultivation, but still clearly traceable as a succession of scarped terraces, of which the last and most prominent underlies the garden of the church and is picked up by the line of the outer west wall of the church itself. The actual Roman bridge has disappeared completely, but the terracing of the north abutment is incorporated in that of the modern road, with its west face, heavily overgrown with brambles, exposed beside it; it is built of good tufa masonry, laid in 45–47 cm. courses, mainly headers, without any regular bonding pattern. The line of this

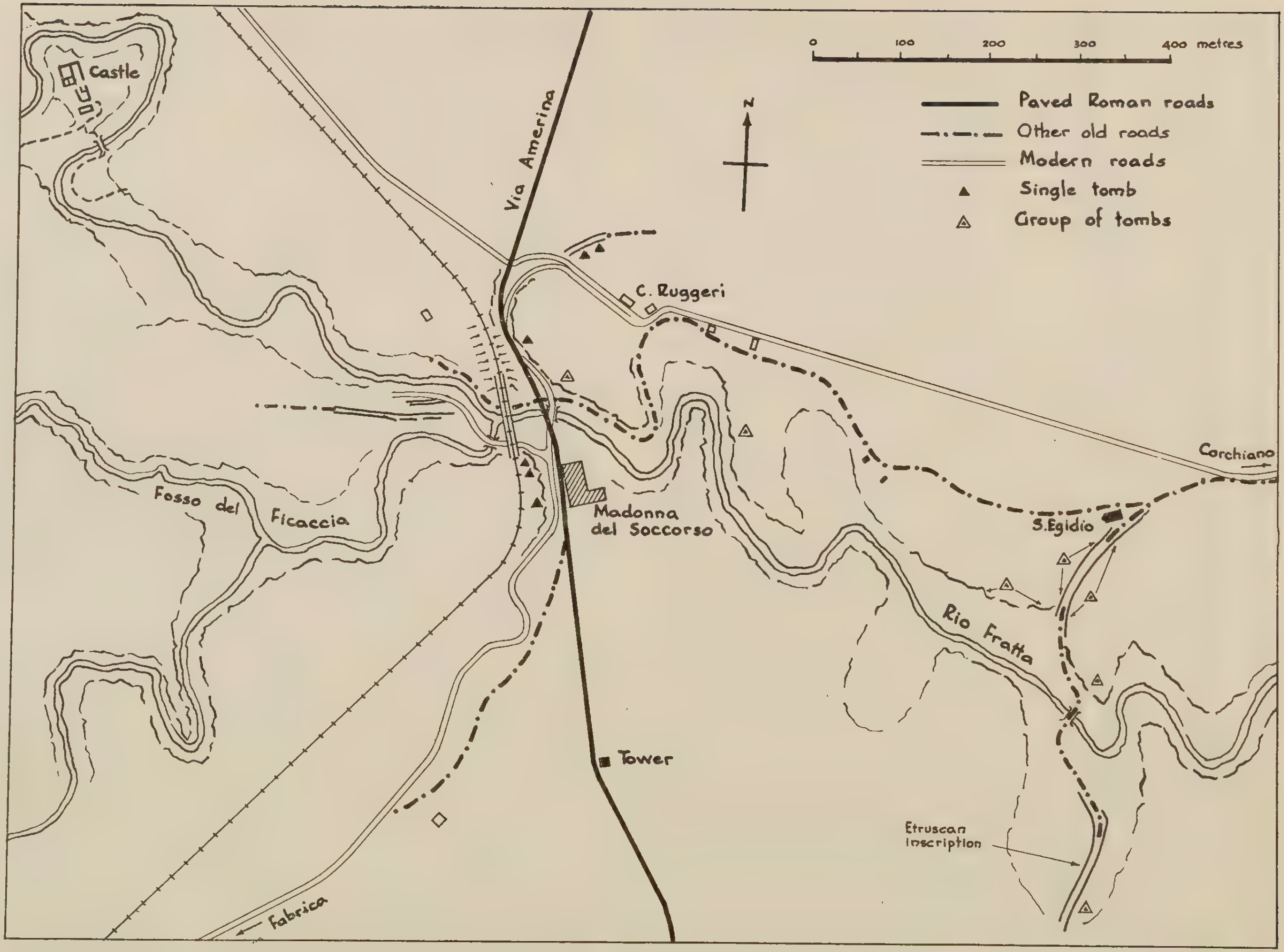


FIG. 17.—THE ANCIENT CROSSING OF THE RIO FRATTA BESIDE THE CHURCH OF THE MADONNA DEL SOCCORSO, WEST OF CORCHIANO (cf. fig. 18)

northern abutment is slightly oblique to that of the south approach, since immediately across the stream the road had to bear left to skirt the cliffs (which, no doubt, were cut back to accommodate the road) of a projecting rocky knoll. For a short distance it underlies the modern road. Then, where the latter swings off to the right towards Corchiano, it can be seen once more, stripped of its paving and seamed with later cart-ruts, climbing up on to the higher ground in the angle between the modern road and the railway.

The Amerina was not only the only road to make use of so conveniently sited a bridge, and in the course of time it became the centre of a network of tracks, some possibly Roman, some undoubtedly later. On the south bank, the predecessor of the modern road from Fabrica is visible to the right of the present road as a sharp-cut gully, dropping down from the crest on a rather more direct line, and merging with the Amerina cutting just before it reaches the church; it must certainly go back to the Middle Ages, and may well be ancient. At the north end of the bridge, instead of following the Amerina up the hill, it turned sharply to the right, towards Corchiano, climbing round the nose of the spur and the head of the following valley as a rock-cut, and in places deeply trenched, track, then swinging off to the right again as an open, terraced way, and finally joining another, more ancient road at the chapel of Sant' Egidio. Although now completely abandoned and in places heavily overgrown, this road must have been in use until very recent times, when the present road, a product of the age of railway and motor traffic, was cut.

In the other direction, up-stream, a line of terraced walling (itself not necessarily of any great antiquity) shows that before the building of the modern road and railway-viaduct, the road from Corchiano crossed the Amerina and continued up the north bank. The former configuration of the valley is now so altered at this point that it is not easy to see exactly how it ran. It probably climbed the slopes just beyond the viaduct and then forked, the one branch continuing along the crest in a generally north-westerly direction, where there is an old sunken track to the right of and partly obliterated by the railway, and the other dropping again to the ruined medieval castle, 'Il Castellaccio,' which stands in a loop of the stream just opposite the (Viterbo) railway station. There is nothing to suggest that either branch is ancient.

Yet another old road approaches the Amerina bridge down the nose of the promontory that separates the northern two of the three streams that converge at this point. The present track, which climbs obliquely round the north flank, is modern, but the lower part can be seen to replace an earlier, rather narrow, rock-cut track, which branches off it to the left on a rather steeper line. Earlier than either is a far more substantial cutting running straight down the slope, and this has all the appearance of antiquity. The present small bridge over the Fosso della Ficaccia is entirely modern, with no trace of ancient workmanship.

Finally we may note a short, and somewhat enigmatic stretch of rock-cut road that runs off north-eastwards from the angle between the Via Amerina and the modern road, at the point where the latter joins the road to the (Viterbo) railway station. It climbs to the level ground, swinging slightly to the right, and then is lost in cultivation. Opening off it are at least two ancient tombs, filled with brambles. It may possibly be of Roman date. Alternatively it is a Faliscan track, taking advantage of the very obvious natural crossing later used by the Via Amerina.

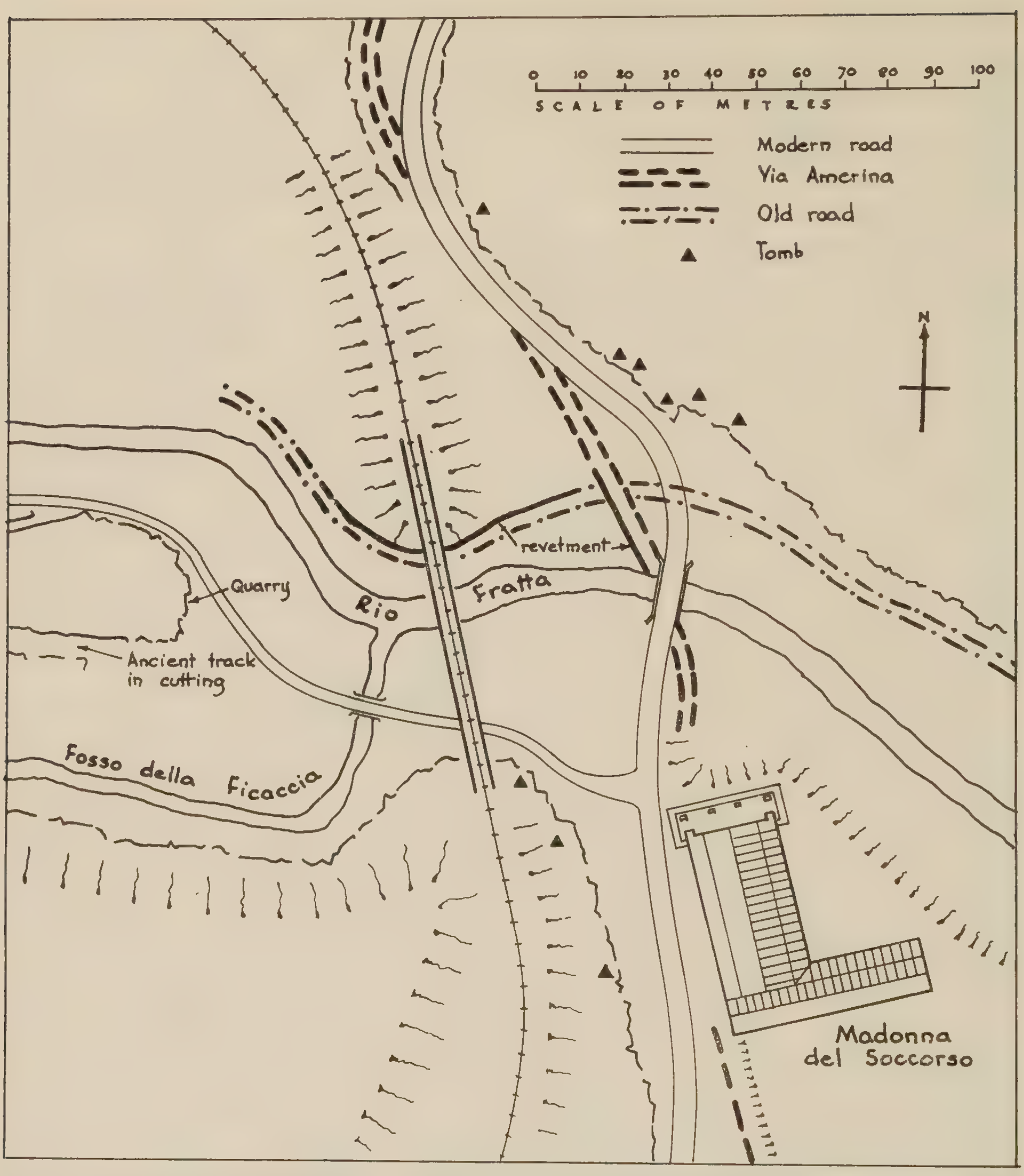


Fig. 18.—The Ancient Crossing of The Rio Fratta beside the Church of the Madonna del Soccorso, West of Corchiano (cf. fig. 17)

Of the tombs related to the Via Amerina on either side of the crossing, the only ones of note are a pair, now partly collapsed, cut in the rock-face opposite the north end of the bridge. Each consisted of an upper, rectangular chamber with a false door in the middle of the back wall and, at a lower level, a shaft leading to the tomb chamber proper. The lay-out at two levels (cf. fig. 22) and the mouldings round the false door, a loose, degenerate version of those familiar from sites such as Castel d'Asso and Bieda, both belong to a long-established pre-Roman tradition and suggest that these two tombs, prominently sited near the bridge, date probably from the years immediately following its construction (or may even precede it, if there was an earlier crossing at this point).

The nameless Faliscan town of which Corchiano is the successor, lay on a broad promontory of level ground between the precipitous gorges of the Fosso delle Pastine and the Rio Fratta, separated by a small but steeply cut tributary valley of the latter from the medieval village, which occupies the site of what was probably the citadel. Along the northern part of the north-western, landward side of the promontory the site was delimited by a shallower tributary valley of the Fosso delle Pastine, and the defences were completed by an artificial ditch cut across the remaining neck of level ground. The northern part of this ditch had already been obliterated in 1885, when a section of it was excavated. A short stretch of the southern part of it can, however, still be seen to the north of the modern road, running for a distance of about 150 m. in a north-north-westerly direction just behind the small church on the edge of the town; it is here 11–12 m. wide. There must have been a gate towards the west, and another at the head of the gully that leads up between the citadel and the rest of the town. The site of what may have been a postern can be seen near the east end of the southern defences, where there is a break in the line of the cliffs, with a path leading down to the valley, just above the junction of the two streams. Except towards the west, there was little need of man-made fortifications. Along the remaining two sides the defences may well have consisted of little more than the continuous line of the cliffs, artificially scarped where necessary and reinforced at weak points by walling, of which there is a short section in a fine state of preservation near the presumed site of the south-east gate; it blocked a natural gully and the courses of the tufa masonry are characteristically stepped into the rock at either end. Across the level ground towards the west there must have been a wall as well as a ditch, but there is no trace of this surviving.

The site of the medieval village (pl. XXVII, *a*) is independently fortified, with precipitous cliffs round all but a very narrow neck, and across this neck a very deep artificial ditch, on the inner edge of which the walls of the medieval castle rise sheer. The modern road crosses a bridge to enter a small piazza, built out over the left-hand valley, at the far end of which foot-passengers can enter a gate into the main street of the village. Before the modern road was built the only access to this gate was by way of a rock-cut road, which zig-zagged up within the ditch, skirting the castle walls. As they stand, the fortifications are plainly medieval. Cozza claims to have seen ancient masonry in the walls of the castle; but there is nothing of the sort to be seen now, and since they are now very much more accessible than they were in his day, it seems likely that on this point he was misled. There may in fact have been an ancient ditch at this point; but there is no positive evidence to show that there was.

Of the settlement that lay within the main defences, occupying an area of some 24 acres (10 hectares), nothing remains above ground. The slopes below the walls along the Rio Fratta are riddled with ancient tombs, now much appreciated by the local pigs, and there is another large cemetery to the south-west below the chapel of Sant'Egidio; a third lay to the west and north-west of the city, and of this a few tombs have from time to time been excavated and published. As a centre of local communications, the site may have continued to exist in Roman times, but there is very little trace of actual Roman occupation. It is not impossible that its inhabitants, like those of Falerii Veteres and possibly of several other smaller Faliscan communities also (cf. pp. 127, 172), were forcibly resettled in the third century B.C. Alternatively, the absence of Roman remains may mean no more than that here, as elsewhere, there was a steady drift during the Roman period down to the main roads and out into small, isolated farms. If so, the tendency was sharply reversed under the later Empire, and the inhabitants of the region were glad to find refuge on the small but virtually impregnable cliff-top which houses the medieval village of Corchiano. Here at least, under the shelter of the castle whose ruins bar the landward approach, the villagers might feel secure.

Of the roads that served the Faliscan town, five can be identified with certainty, and there are others that may be ancient. These will be discussed in a later section (pp. 177–9); but it will be convenient at this point to give some account of their courses in the immediate vicinity of the ancient town. The road to Gallese, another Faliscan site, left the south-east gate, crossed the Fosso delle Pastine just above its junction with the Rio Fratta and climbed to the plateau by way of a deep, winding cutting, now disused, striking into the cliff along a shorter, steeper line than that followed by the present track, which it rejoins at the crest, just before the large seventeenth-century chapel of Santa Maria della Misericordia. The road to Falerii Veteres, which until modern times was still the principal link between Corchiano and Civita Castellana, is carried across the Rio Fratta on an old bridge, recently rebuilt in new material, just below the point of the medieval village. The cutting by which it climbs from the *fosso* is perhaps the most spectacular of the many ancient road-cuttings in Faliscan territory (pl. XXVII, *c*). Narrow, winding, and at least 15 m. deep at the deepest point, it slips into the rock-surface so unobtrusively that from just across the valley it can barely be made out. As in most of these ancient road-cuttings there is provision for drainage, in the form of a *cuniculus* which cuts obliquely across to the cliff-face a short distance below the head of the cutting, in order to carry off the surface-water collected by the shallow valley up which the road emerges on to the level ground.

A third road struck off from the west gate and crossed the Rio Fratta about half way between the medieval village and the Madonna del Soccorso. For a short way it coincides with the old road leading to the Amerina bridge, but at the chapel of Sant'Egidio (pl. XXVIII, *c*) the line of the latter bears off to the right, along the edge of the higher ground, while the Faliscan road (Dennis's 'Via della Canara') which is still much used by farm traffic, keeps to the left of the chapel, dropping to the valley-bottom by way of yet another narrow cutting (pl. XXVII, *b*). This was evidently one of the main cemetery areas of the ancient town, and the sides of the cutting itself and the hillsides above its mouth are honeycombed with tombs, one and all now pressed into service as storerooms, pigsties and, in one case, a small wayside shrine. The valley itself has been transformed by the construction of a dam and mill-leet, and the road now crosses the stream on a picturesque bridge of no great antiquity. Immediately beyond it, however, the line of the ancient road is picked up once more, winding up to the higher ground by a relatively easy route, rock-cut, but to no great depth. Down one side runs an open drainage-channel (at one point taken through a projecting spur as a *cuniculus*), and above this, half way up the hill on the west face, is cut, in Etruscan characters 33–36 cm. high, the name *Larth Vel Arnies* (pl. XXXI, *b*). Why his name should have been recorded here is not clear—unless, indeed, it was he who cut the road. Another overgrown cutting, to the east of the modern track at point 820911, suggests that the road continued in a southerly direction by an easy crossing near the modern Casale Fallarese.

The fourth ancient road left the west gate in a generally north-westerly direction, joining the line now followed by the country road that leads from the medieval village past the chapel of Sant'Antonio, in the direction of the railway station (State Railways) and Vignanello, the rock-cut cellars and storerooms along which merge imperceptibly into the tombs that once lined its predecessor. About a kilometre outside the village and 300 m. short of the Via Amerina a cart-track forks off to the right. In its present form this is of no great antiquity, but here and there, e.g. where it crosses the Fosso delle Pastine, there are clear indications that it has joined and overlies an earlier track. Immediately across the stream, where the present track forks, one branch turning left to join the Amerina and the other bearing up right across the fields, its predecessor can be seen carrying straight on up the hill, dropping almost at once into a steep-sided rock-cut ditch, 3–4 m. deep, which forks immediately before reaching the farmhouse (old, but recently rebuilt) of Casale Sciardiglia. The left-hand branch runs across the front of the farmhouse, joining the Amerina at an acute angle some 150 m. beyond; from this point onwards the Amerina was evidently following the line of this earlier road. The right-hand branch is lost soon after in flat, cultivated ground, but was presumably heading for the settlement at Ponte del Ponte (p. 123).

The road to Vignanello may itself also be ancient. Across the open ground, as it approaches the railway, it has been widened and all traces of antiquity obliterated; but the line is a likely one and there are records of sixth-century and later tombs from 'contrada Lista,' the property that lies beside it on the right just before reaching the station.

The remaining road that is certainly ancient is that which can be seen dropping towards the Madonna del Soccorso crossing, in the angle between the Via Amerina and the modern road. It may be no more than a branch of the Amerina and of Roman date. If, as seems on the whole more likely, it is pre-Roman, it indicates that the crossing was already used in Faliscan times.

Useful general accounts of the site as it appeared towards the end of the last century are given by A. Cozza in *Not. Scav.*, 1886, pp. 152–156, amplifying and commenting the publication in *Not. Scav.*, 1885, pp. 595–597, of a group of tombs found in the ditch to the north-west of the site; and by A. Buglione in *Röm. Mitt.*, ii, 1887, pp. 25–36, with a plan which indicates the line of the ditch and principal cemeteries. The tombs excavated, simple rectangular chambers with loculi in each wall and a small vestibule, were cut in the two rock-faces of the ditch, here 15 m. wide, at a point about 150 m. east of the chapel of S. Antonio; the material excavated was mainly of the third century, but with evident traces of reuse from earlier times. At this point the Via S. Antonio (the old road to Vignanello) is rock-cut with chambers excavated along either side, giving the impression of an ancient road flanked by tombs. But none of these chambers is demonstrably ancient, and the road cuts through the line of the ditch, which can be seen as a masonry-filled gap in the tufa walls on either side. The present network of rock-cut roads and alleyways radiating from the entrance to the village is probably mainly or entirely medieval; the alignments of tombs shown on Buglione's plan to the north of the Via S. Antonio, if accurate, may be an indication of the line of the ancient road to the west. The inscriptions from this area are to be found in *CIE*, 8392–6; 8387–9.

For subsequent finds of tombs at or near Corchiano, see *Not. Scav.*, 1909, pp. 78–79, a group of poor, trenched tombs near the chapel of S. Antonio; 1912, pp. 83–84, five tombs, ranging from the seventh to the third century B.C., to the east of the town in 'terreno Pizzini'; 1920, pp. 20–30, sixth-century and later tombs in 'contrada Lista' near the railway station (State Railways). The two tombs with carved doors beside the Madonna del Soccorso crossing are illustrated, without commentary, in *Studi Etruschi*, i, 1927, pls. lx, *a*, and lxv, *a*.

In addition to the inscription of Larth Vel Arnies (*CIE* 8379) Buglione refers to two others some distance to the north-west of the town, one of which must be near the site of Ponte del Ponte (p. 125); these we have not yet been able to locate.

It may be useful, in conclusion, to add a few brief notes about the medieval and later monuments referred to in the text. Without access to the documents bearing on the history of Corchiano in the Middle Ages and since, they can be no more than an indication of the sort of material that awaits study by those competent to do so; e.g. Gamurrini in *Rend. Acc. Linc.*, series 5, iii, 1894, pp. 145–149, noting that the earliest recorded medieval form of the name is ''Orclanum'; 'Castrum Corclanum first appears in a document of 1158.

Of the four wayside churches and chapels, by far the most striking is that of Santa Maria del Soccorso (pl. XXVIII, *a*), a three-aisled basilical church of considerable architectural pretensions, with handsome grotesques carved on the portal (pl. XXIX, *b*), on the piers of the porch which once stood against the facade, and on the elaborately carved and frescoed chapel-shrine which occupies the whole of one bay of the right-hand aisle. The altars and fittings are of cruder, local workmanship and date from the seventeenth century, and are no doubt due to the munificence of the Constantini family, two of whose members, Dario (d. 1668) and Giovanni Franceso (d. 1679), are buried here and recorded in spirited epitaphs. Another member of the same family, Lorenzo, is responsible for a very similar altar in the church of Santa Maria delle Grazie, a large and otherwise characterless seventeenth-century church at the cross-roads to the east of the town (pl. XXVIII, *d*). The earliest of the four is the chapel of S. Antonio, beside the Vignanello road; it has been since rebuilt, but the inscription over the door, cut in crude lettering and now partly illegible, repeats the original dedication and records that two citizens of Corchiano founded the church in honour of St. Antony and another saint in 1328. The fourth chapel, that of S. Egidio, dates in its present form from the seventeenth century, but may possibly incorporate parts of an earlier building (pl. XXVIII, *c*).

The district is also rich in fortified medieval sites. That on the southern brow of the valley, above the Madonna del Soccorso, has already been described (p. 110). 'Il Castellaccio,' in a loop of the stream just below the railway station (Viterbo railway), is one of the finest castles in the whole territory (pl. XXIX, *a*). It stands on an isolated rocky hill, the sides of which have been cut back to a vertical face and a ditch cut across the low saddle that connects the site with the higher ground to the south of the stream. The well preserved remains appear to be of at least two periods: an early nucleus, including a tower, built of well cut tufa blocks set in 30 cm. courses; and, at the north-west end of the site, a later and much more spacious wing (including a Great Hall, with large window and fireplace) built in a less careful masonry with very rough inner faces; at the south-east end of the site there is a very large cistern. A footbridge crosses the stream opposite the south-east end of the site, but the main approach was from the south-west; and at the point where this road leaves the main plateau there are the remains of another fortification. This consists of a small rocky promontory, the sides of which have been cut sheer, and a ditch cut across the neck, so as to form a roughly rectangular platform, some 60 × 30 m. in size; there are no surviving walls around the platform, but a number of caves are cut in the rock-faces towards the point. It is presumably in some way related to the main castle, the approach to which it controls.

In addition to these sites, there are the extensive remains of another castle or fortified village on a rocky promontory about a kilometre farther upstream, just above the viaduct of the Capranica-Orte railway (State Railways); and there are the scanty traces of yet another fortification on a small promontory overlooking the Rio Fratta about 500 m. south-west of the village of Corchiano, between the village and the S. Egidio crossing.

(*h*) *From Santa Maria del Soccorso* (*Corchiano*) *to the Gallese-Soriano Road* (fig. 19)

(*i*) *The road.* After climbing to the level ground east of the station of Corchiano (Viterbo Railway), the line of the Via Amerina can be followed with scarcely a break for nearly 3 kilometres across gently rolling, cultivated country. Some stretches of it are still in use, others survive as embanked field-boundaries or alongside present-day field-tracks. At no point is the course of the ancient road in doubt.

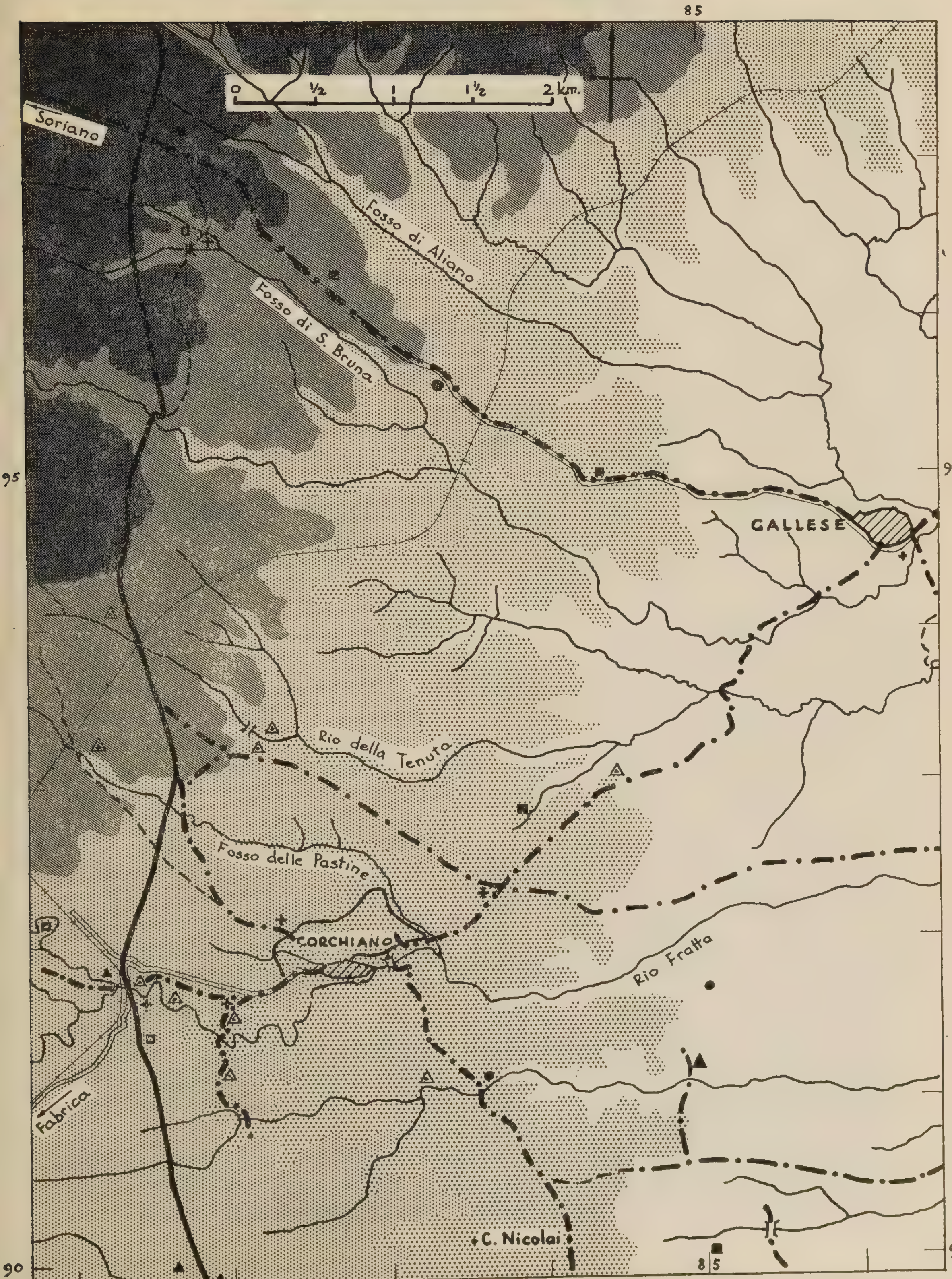


FIG. 19.—THE VIA AMERINA FROM CORCHIANO TO THE GALLESE-SORIANO ROAD (for the conventions used, see fig. 2a)

For the first stretch, as far as the road from Corchiano to the other railway-station (State Railways) and to Vignanello, the line is that of a well-worn country road, with only occasional blocks of worn *selce* to mark the course of its Roman predecessor. Beyond this point it was until recently a mule-track, and it is still so marked on the 1944 edition of the 1:25,000 map (Sheet 'Gallese'), but it has now been virtually abandoned in favour of the cart-track that branches off the Corchiano-Vignanello road, some 300 m. further to the east. This is the track already referred to (p. 117) as being, in part at any rate, a modern adaptation of a Faliscan trackway, leading north-westwards from the ancient site of Corchiano and merging with the Amerina just beyond the Casale Sciardiglia. At the crossing of the Fosso delle Pastine, here a modest stream flowing in a shallow valley, the line of the Roman road is visible on the crest of the southern slopes as a shallow gully heading for a point about 100 m. upstream from the present bridge. The Roman bridge itself has vanished; but towards the far crest of the valley there is a substantial stretch of *selce* paving still intact, and a short distance beyond this point, just past the Casale Sciardiglia, the Roman road merges with the earlier trackway, swinging left to conform with it and striking out on a new line across the level fields between the headwaters of the Fosse delle Pastine and the Rio della Tenuta (pl. XVII, *d*).

From this point to the railway-crossing the road is very well preserved, with substantial stretches of pavement still intact in or beside the modern track. Some 300 m. past the junction with the pre-Roman track from Corchiano it is joined from the right by another and larger ancient trackway. This is the important ridgeway track, still in active use, which runs along the narrow neck of level ground between the gorges of the Rio Fratta (eastwards from Corchiano) and the southern tributaries of the Rio Miccino (south of Gallese), affording an easy natural link between the territory of Vignanello and the Tiber valley (for this track, see p. 169). Before the building of the railway it may also have continued westwards, across the Amerina, with which, instead, it now converges, heading for the bridge under the railway at the crossing of the headwaters of the Rio Tenuta (a tributary of the Rio Miccino). Standing on this bridge and looking back up the slopes one has a fine view of the successive stages of this time-honoured trackway: on the right (i.e. on the west) the Via Amerina itself, an overgrown embankment, within which much of the paving can still be seen intact; beside it the modern road; and on the other side of the modern road, winding down to the stream-crossing, a network of deeply worn pack-trails, the visible record of what must have been the normal means of transport during the Middle Ages, once the Roman bridges had fallen into disrepair. All that is missing is any tangible trace of the pre-Roman trackway underlying the whole later complex.

It was, apparently, on and just to the east of the site of the railway bridge that Pasqui and Cozza saw the remains of a fortified site, which they identified as one of the minor settlements of the pre-Roman Ager Faliscus. It must have stood on the high ground immediately to the north of the stream, and all superficial trace of it was removed by the builders of the railway.

Beyond the bridge the ancient road is clearly visible as an overgrown embankment running straight on beside the cart-track leading towards Casale Pratese. After about 500 m. the road and the modern track coincide (width of the Roman paved surface, 2.35 m.) and continue together as far as the head of the gully that drops through the cliffs of the Fosso delle Chiare Fontane just east of the Casale. The Fosso is a substantial obstacle, with sheer, tufa cliffs on either side. The gully itself, which is very probably a natural gully enlarged, is choked with dense vegetation, and inaccessible; and search in the undergrowth at the foot of the cliffs failed to reveal any trace of the south abutment of a bridge. But the line is certain. There are *selce* blocks beside the rocky outcrop at the head of the slope; and on the north bank a recent fall of earth has exposed a few blocks of the west face of the north abutment, which can be seen as an overgrown, embanked hedgerow, running across the narrow stretch of level ground between the stream and the cliffs on the north side of the valley. On this side there was no natural exit from the valley-bottom, and the road (here still in use as a cart-track) had to be cut out of the face of the cliff, turning sharply right at the foot and left again on reaching the crest, to resume its northward progress across the open country to the north of the Fosso (pl. XXXIV, *a*).

At this point, right on the crest, the road forks (pl. XXXIV, *b*). The left-hand branch, a shallow, rock-cut trench, barely 2.50 m. wide and choked with low scrub, is the ancient road. The right-hand branch, indistinguishable from the other except that it is still in use, leads to the fortified medieval site of Casale Santa Bruna (p. 127), a kilometre to the north, at the junction of the Fosso Carraccio and the Fosso della Gaetta. Before the establishment of this site, presumably in the early Middle Ages, the Amerina followed a more westerly line, passing about 600 m. upstream from the junction of the two valleys. It can be followed, for the most part completely overgrown but with considerable stretches of *selce* still in place or recently ploughed out, running for nearly a kilometre across level, cultivated ground and then dropping gently towards the Fosso Carraccio. This is a small stream, running in a narrow, deeply eroded bed, and all trace of the ancient bridge has vanished. On the far bank, however, the road can be seen running for about 50 m. on a low, artificial embankment and then bearing slightly right on a new line through a short rock-cutting 6 m. wide. Beyond the cutting the line continues, first along a bank and then along a hedge, as far as the Fosso della Gaetta; isolated blocks of *selce*, some possibly in position, others certainly displaced, mark its course. The Fosso della Gaetta is another shallow, open valley, with a small, deeply cut stream running down it, and once again the bridge has totally disappeared, leaving only some *selce* blocks on the south lip to mark its approximate position. In these head-water valleys erosion is still very active, with the stream-beds cutting back at a great pace and with a constant redeposit of fresh soil from the cultivated slopes on either bank. Once one abutment of a bridge had fallen, allowing the stream to move freely about the valley bottom, all trace of it might very soon be obliterated.

To the north of the Fosso della Gaetta lies a heavily cultivated area, and scattered blocks of *selce* are all that can be seen to mark the course of the Roman road. These appear first about 100 m. up the slope, and they can be followed in a straight line across the Contrada Aliano until all trace is lost in the vineyards immediately to the south of the modern Gallese-Soriano road. When last seen they are heading for a point about 50 m. east of the 4 km. stone. The modern road, which follows the line of a Roman and very possibly pre-Roman ridgeway

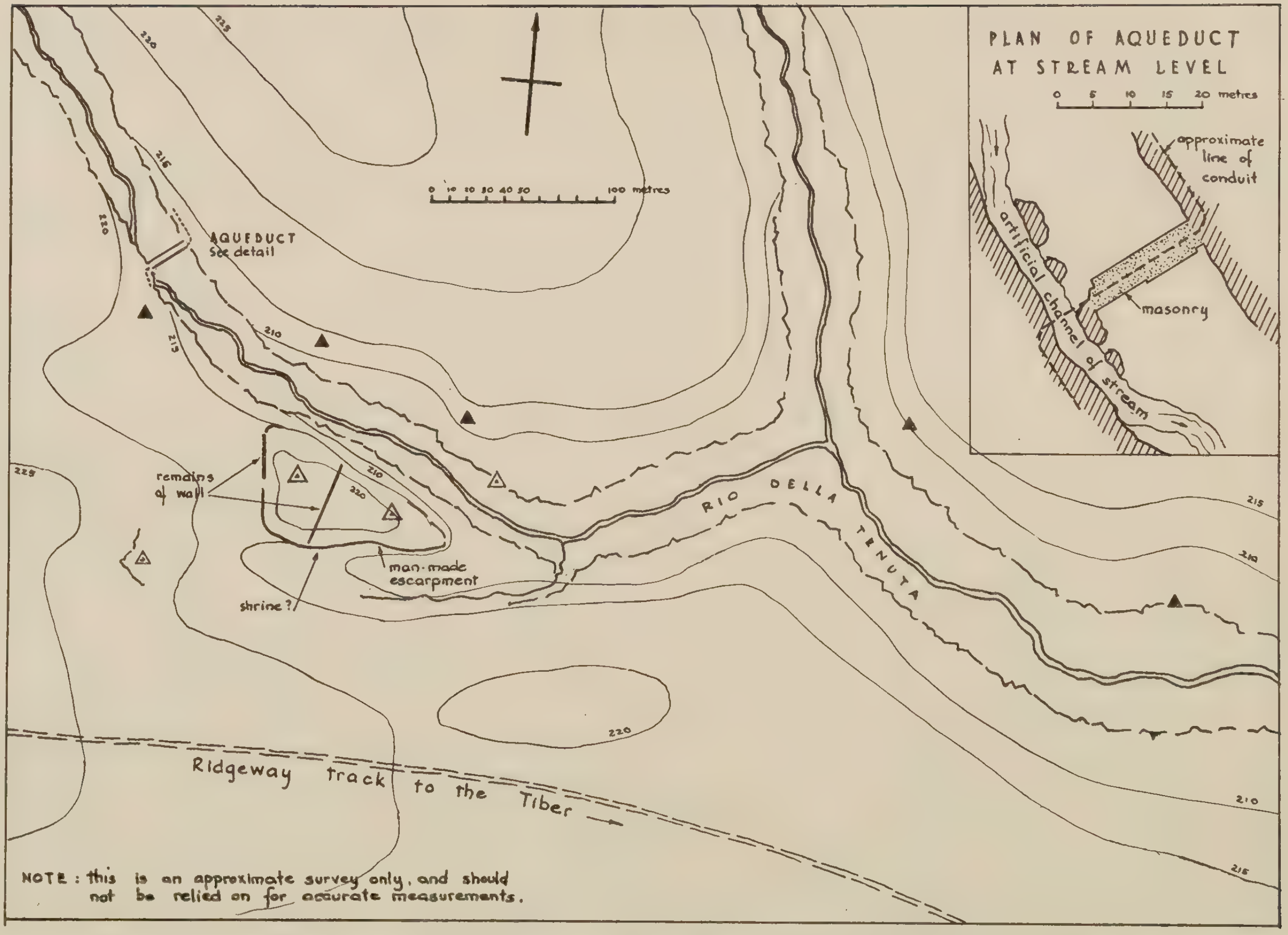

PLAN OF AQUEDUCT AT STREAM LEVEL
0 5 10 15 20 metres
approximate line of conduit
masonry
artificial channel of stream
0 10 20 30 40 50 100 metres
AQUEDUCT See detail
RIO DELLA TENUTA
remains of wall
man-made escarpment
shrine ?
Ridgeway track to the Tiber
225
220
215
210
NOTE : this is an approximate survey only, and should not be relied on for accurate measurements.

Fig. 20.—Sketch-Map of The Faliscan Site of Ponte del Ponte, North of Corchiano (cf. plate XXX; for the conventions used, see fig. 2a)

track (see p. 165), marks the northern limit of the present study. Beyond it, the Amerina runs through country that is still very imperfectly explored, on its way to Orte (*Horta*) and Amelia (*Ameria*); and there is much work to be done on the ground before its course through this country can be determined in any detail.

To the north of the Rio Tenuta the record of ancient sites is far less abundant than in the more accessible areas to the south. In part this is doubtless due to the more summary exploration of this outlying country; but it may well be that in part also it represents the situation in antiquity. Certainly there seem to be very few tombs and (in marked contrast to the ridgeway road running west from Gallese) no obvious wayside sites along the line of the Amerina itself. One gets the impression—and without further detailed work it can be little more than an impression—that this part of the countryside was less densely settled in antiquity than many other parts of the Ager Faliscus.

813941 On the left-hand side of the Amerina a short distance north of the railway, a group of three tombs, of which the only accessible one has a two-storey façade, on which can be seen traces of carving (false windows?), and a large tomb-chamber.

815939 (approx.) Fortified site, seen by Pasqui and Cozza and destroyed when the railway between Orte and Ronciglione was built, between 1921 and 1929.

817930 Casale Sciardiglia (pl. XXX). The farmhouse, recently rebuilt, stands in the fork of two rock-cut roads, near the crest of the northern slopes overlooking the Fosso delle Pastine. The left-hand road, a precursor of the Via Amerina, comes from the ancient site of Corchiano and merges with the Amerina 150 m. past the fork. The right-hand road emerges on to level ground just past the farmhouse and is lost in cultivation; but the probable line of it can be seen a little further on, heading for the inhabited site of Ponte del Ponte (see below). The cuttings, 3–4 m. wide and 2–3 m. deep, have vertical sides and are lined with rock-cut chambers, some certainly modern but others possibly ancient.

818929 On the north bank of the Fosso delle Pastine, about 100 m. east of the present bridge. A group of rock-cut chambers of rather dubious antiquity; they are not shown in figs. 20, 21.

(*ii*) *Ponte del Ponte: aqueduct and settlement* (figs. 20–22; pls. XXX–XXXIII). About 600 m. east of the Via Amerina, just past the Casale Sciardiglia, are the remains of a massive aqueduct, known as the Ponte del Ponte (in older maps, Puntone del Ponte), across the south branch of the Rio della Tenuta (or Rio Merlesi); and about 150 m. below it, on the south bank, are the remains of a small fortified settlement, which may conveniently be referred to by the same name.

At this point the Rio della Tenuta is already a formidable obstacle, with sheer tufa cliffs on either side, absolutely impassable except by rock-cut steps or paths. The settlement occupies a low rocky knoll, roughly triangular in shape, of which the northern long side is formed by the cliffs of the Fosso itself and the southern by an artificial escarpment, made by cutting back to a vertical face the northern slope of the shallow tributary valley which converges on the Fosso from the south (pl. XXXI, *a*). The profile of the short, western side also may in part be artificial, and it was further defended by a wall, built of massive, squared blocks of tufa, of which traces can still be seen near the north-western corner. There are the remains of a similar but less substantial wall cutting across the site a little to the east of its highest point.

The choice of site and the fact of its fortification leave no room for doubt that this was originally an inhabited settlement. Later on, however, it was used as a cemetery, and it is now honeycombed with tombs, some cut into the top of the knoll and into the slopes overlooking the gorge. Many of these tombs have long stood empty, or have been converted to agricultural use by the local farmers; others have been ransacked in recent times by clandestine excavators. One of the chambers on the south side is perhaps a rustic shrine, rather than a tomb. The front has

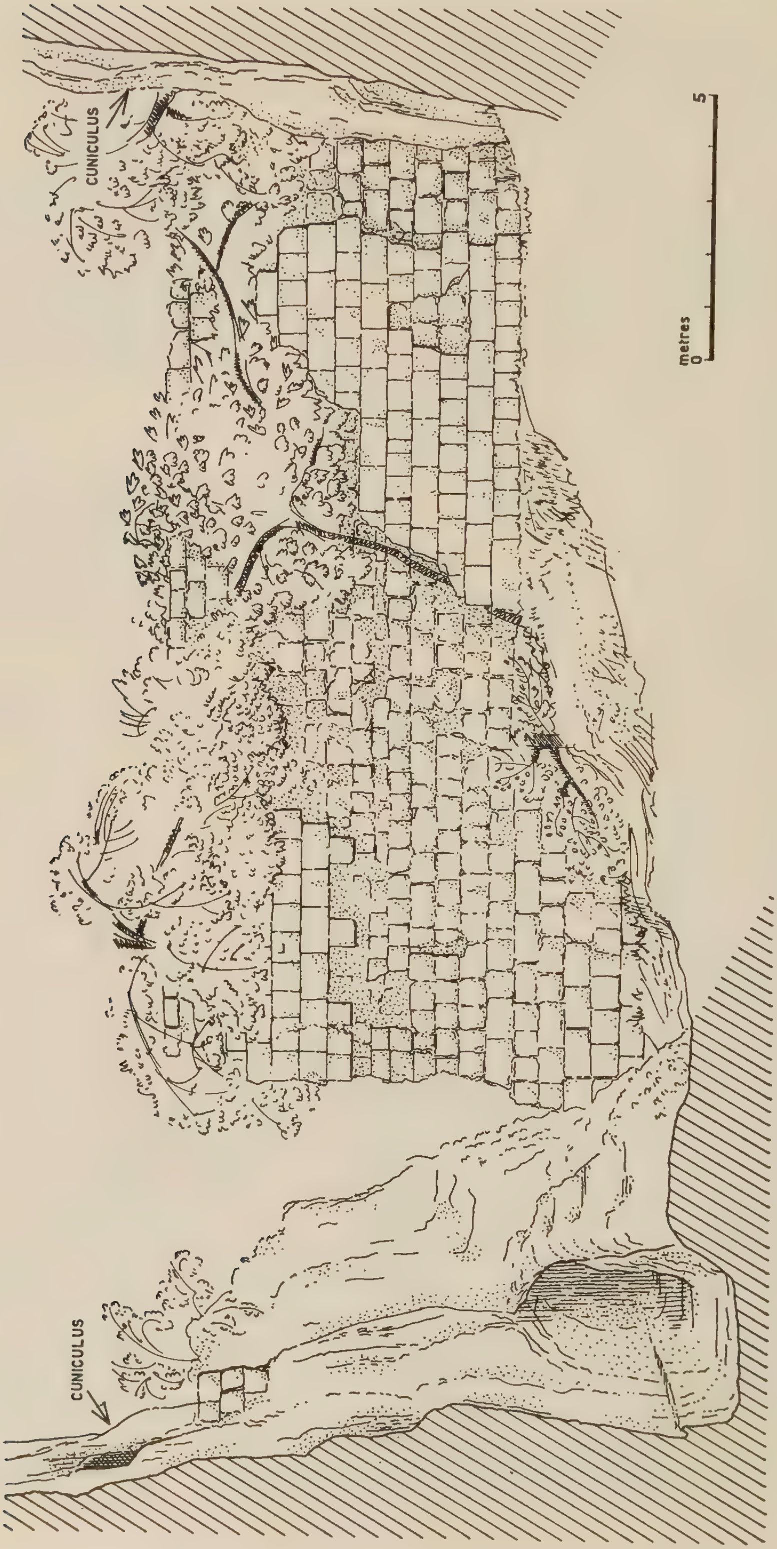


Fig. 21.—The Aqueduct near the Faliscan Site of Ponte del Ponte

fallen; but the rear wall is preserved, and is plain except for a series of small, upright, rectangular niches, which can have served no obvious funerary purpose, but would have been well suited to contain statuettes or votive offerings.

The aqueduct (pl. XXXII; fig. 21) crosses the Rio della Tenuta a little more than 100 m. upstream from the north-west corner of the settlement, at a point where the two cliff-faces are about 25 m. apart. It consists of a massive wall of solid tufa masonry, 4.50 m. thick at the base and preserved to a height of 10 m. above the silt of the valley-bottom. The stream, instead of passing through an arch, has been diverted through an artificial channel cut in the base of the cliff on the south side. Of the *specus* all that can now be traced is the entrance and the exit, typical *cuniculi* cut in the tufa of the cliff-face; but from the line of these it is clear that at this point the general course of the aqueduct was from north-west to south-east, down the gorge, and that it crossed the aqueduct (perhaps in an open channel) from north to south. The water may have been drawn from a spring which rises a few hundred metres to the north and which is still piped today for agricultural purposes; and since there is no trace of any continuation of the *specus* further downstream or across the next valley to the south, nor is there any other site which it might have served, one can hardly doubt that its destination was the adjoining settlement.

Round about, on either side of the Fosso, there are a number of tombs, some of which date back presumably to the period of the settlement. There is one small group of simple chamber-tombs cut into a low rock-face about 100 m. to the west, and many others both along the crest and cut into the cliff-faces of the gorge. Some of these are now inaccessible, and many others may well have escaped attention in the undergrowth, among them perhaps an inscription in Etruscan characters seen by Buglione in the last century 'a due chilometri da Corchiano alla sinistra del Rio Merlese nella regione Ponte del Ponte' (*Röm. Mitt.*, ii, 1887, p. 28; *CIE*, 8391). The most striking of the individual tombs is one cut into the slopes above the cliff just opposite the west end of the settlement (pl. XXXIII, *a*, *b*; fig. 22). This consisted of a broad dromos, leading up to a shallow, bicolumnar porch, with a false door in the middle of the rear wall; and, cut down through the floor of the dromos along its axis (and doubtless filled and paved over except when the tomb was opened for use) a narrow, sloping trench leading down to a large, rectangular tomb-chamber, plain except for rectangular, grave-recesses in the walls and a massive Doric column in the centre, upholding the flat roof. The two columns of the porch (that on the left is destroyed) were also Doric, but more slender, and the architrave rests at either end on moulded brackets. The mouldings on the false door are a slack, late variant of the mouldings characteristic of such sites in the Viterbese as Norchia and Castel d'Asso. There are traces of an entablature on the facade above the columns. Two small sherds of black-glazed ware were picked up in the dromos.

Cultivation has destroyed the remains of any ancient roads that may have led down to the inhabited site. But it was well placed in this respect. The important ridgeway track leading up from the Tiber between the Rio Fratta and the Rio della Tenuta (Rio Miccino) passed barely 100 m. to the south; and it was linked with Corchiano by a road of which the fork is still clearly to be seen beside the Casale Sciardiglia, branching off to the right from the cutting of the Faliscan predecessor of the Via Amerina (pl. XXX, and p. 117).

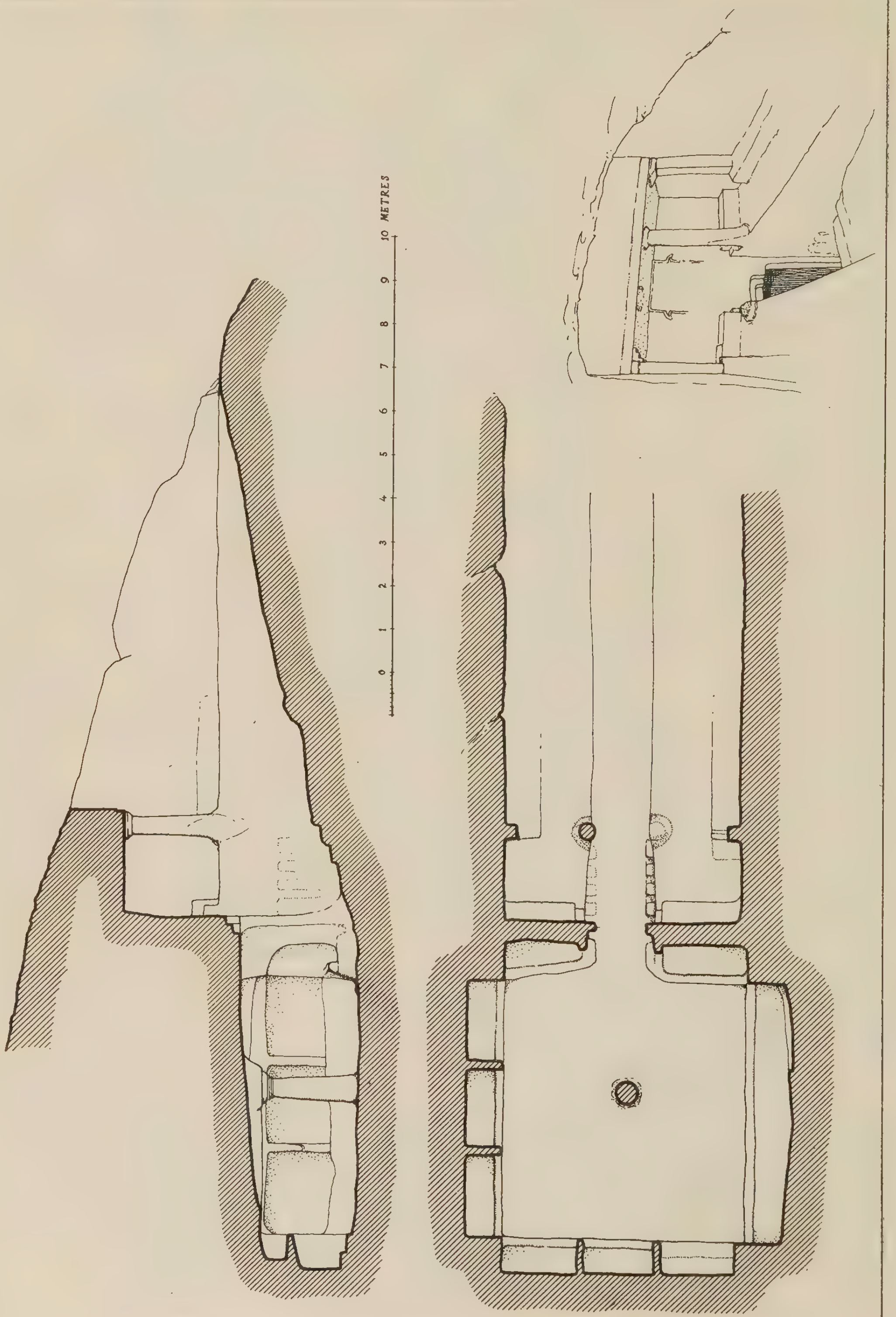


Fig. 22.—Rock-cut Tomb opposite the Faliscan Site of Ponte del Ponte

When was the settlement abandoned? *Prima facie* it does not seem improbable that it was destroyed on the occasion of the Roman conquest; but it would need a great deal more research and perhaps excavation before one could assert with any confidence that the example of Falerii Veteres was extended also to any of the lesser settlements within the Faliscan territory. Alternatively, it may have been a more gradual process, the result of changed economic conditions following the Roman conquest, a somewhat extreme example of the well-authenticated drift away from the villages and out into open farmsteads. In either case, the settlement, as such, is Faliscan and must have been deserted, at latest, early in the Roman period, and the aqueduct too is very likely to be pre-Roman. This would be in accordance both with the rather primitive character of the masonry and with the diversion of the stream through a rock-cut channel in preference to building an arch—a typically Etruscan feature. That the Etruscans were skilled in hydraulic engineering is attested both by the literary record (cf. the story of the draining of Lake Albano, Livy 5, 15) and by the surviving remains (e.g. the *cuniculi* of the Ager Veientanus). In this, as in many other branches of engineering, the Romans learnt much from their predecessors, and it may very well be that in Ponte del Ponte we have an actual surviving example of an Etruscan aqueduct.

(*iii*) *The medieval site of Casale Santa Bruna* (pl. XXXV). A promontory site with strong natural defences, in the fork of the Fosso Carraccio and the Fosso della Gaetta, the two headwater tributaries of the Fosso di Santa Bruna, which lower down flows past Gallese as the Rio Maggiore. It takes its name from the Romanesque church of Santa Bruna, a simple rectangular structure of tufa with a single, westward apse, now converted into a farmhouse. A detached campanile stands opposite the south-east corner of the church; it has an archway leading through it at ground-level and a *bifora* with a crude caryatid figure in the upper part of the west face.

The site, which merits a more thorough examination than it has yet been possible to give it, is roughly triangular, with a broad, rock-cut ditch across the neck of the promontory and a wall of large, squared tufa blocks, set in a coarse grey mortar, running all or most of the way round the perimeter. A prominent mound near the north-west corner presumably marks the site of a castle, and the church, the only surviving building within the inhabited area, is on the south side, not far from the end of the promontory. The broad, rock-cut ditch between the church and the campanile suggests that at some stage the point of the promontory was separately fortified. From this ditch an archway in the base of the campanile leads to a narrow road cut in the face of the cliff and to a series of large rock-cut chambers, at two levels and now partly collapsed.

The medieval branch of the Via Amerina, which leaves the line of the ancient road on the northern crest of the Fosso delle Chiare Fontane (p. 121), crosses the narrow but very deep cleft of the stream-bed of the Fosso Carraccio a short way upstream (the bridge is of no great antiquity) and bears right up the slope overlooked by the fortifications. The gate which must have stood at the head of the slope has vanished, leaving no trace. The Fosso della Gaetta, on the north side, is steeper and more heavily overgrown, and it is difficult to make out details. There was, however, a bridge across this stream-bed also, opposite the church, and this must have carried the road northwards to join the ancient ridgeway track linking

Gallese and Soriano. The surviving remains of this bridge (part of the south abutment, some of the masonry of which fell during the winter of 1956–57) has a disconcertingly Roman appearance—large blocks of tufa, laid without mortar—but in the absence of other evidence it is difficult to regard this stretch of road as of Roman origin. The possibility should, however, be borne in mind.

There are traces of buildings within the walls, and many rock-cut chambers, but there is nothing to suggest that any of these are ancient; they are the cellars and outhouses characteristic of any village in this countryside at any period down to the present day. Though not of Roman or pre-Roman date, some of these chambers certainly antedate the present defences. The footings of the south wall are carried across one of them on a rough arch; and nearby the same footings overlie a deposit of medieval pottery. Within the limits of the Middle Ages the site evidently had a long history.

III. FALERII VETERES (CIVITA CASTELLANA)

(Figs. 23–25)

Despite the contrary opinions of an earlier generation of antiquaries, it is now established that Falerii, the ancient town of the Faliscan people, stood on the present site of Civita Castellana. Any attempt to study the pre-Roman road-systems of the Faliscan territory must begin with the one certainly attested fact that concerns this otherwise obscure people: in 241 B.C., the Romans destroyed the old citadel and transferred the population to a new site at Falerii Novi, now represented by S. Maria di Fálleri, some five kilometres to the west.

A long-established opinion, which finds ample expression in the post-medieval epigraphy of Civita Castellana, held that this was the site of Veii, but this view did not survive the excavations and studies of the last century. See Del Frate, *passim*; Dennis, i, p. 108 ff.; *CIL*, xi, p. 464 f.; Deecke, p. 29 ff.; Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde*, ii, p. 362 ff.

The passages referring to the history of the site are collected in *CIL*, xi, p. 465; *CIE*, ii, 2, introd.; and the works of Dennis and Deecke cited above.

It is no accident that the lofty promontory upon which Civita Castellana now stands should have been the strategic and political centre of a wide area in pre-Roman and later in medieval times. A glance at the formation of the Ager Faliscus and the disposition of the water-courses will reveal at once its central importance. The features of the landscape to the south and west of the town are those characteristic of much of the volcanic zone north of Rome; the alternating strata of hard and soft rock have in the course of time been eroded and weathered to form the deep plunging gullies and flat tufaceous plateaux which even today pose great problems to those who would cross them and not travel with them. In such conditions even a minor watercourse may create a formidable obstacle to communications. A series of such streams, collecting water from the southern slopes of the Monti Cimini, may be seen draining towards the east; near Civita Castellana, they discharge into the more considerable River Treia, which rises in the larger basin lying to the south between Monte Soracte and the Monti Sabatini; from here the Treia continues a short distance north-eastwards and then strikes out eastwards for some six kilometres to join the Tiber (pl. XLVI).

Hence Falerii Veteres, like its medieval and modern successor, stands at the centre of a radiating series of deep vertical gullies and elevated tufa promontories. The site is marked out as a natural centre of communications. Except in the lower reaches of the Treia itself, where there are extensive deposits of gravel exposed, roads normally, even today, avoid the valley-bottoms, where flooding, heavy vegetation, and the likelihood of rock-falls are recurrent hazards; the ridges, not the streams, form the lines of communication. Civita Castellana thus dominates the natural egress of those inhabiting a considerable area to the south and west into the more spacious highways of the Tiber Valley, and to the hostile marauder who followed up the Treia it was an impassable obstacle.

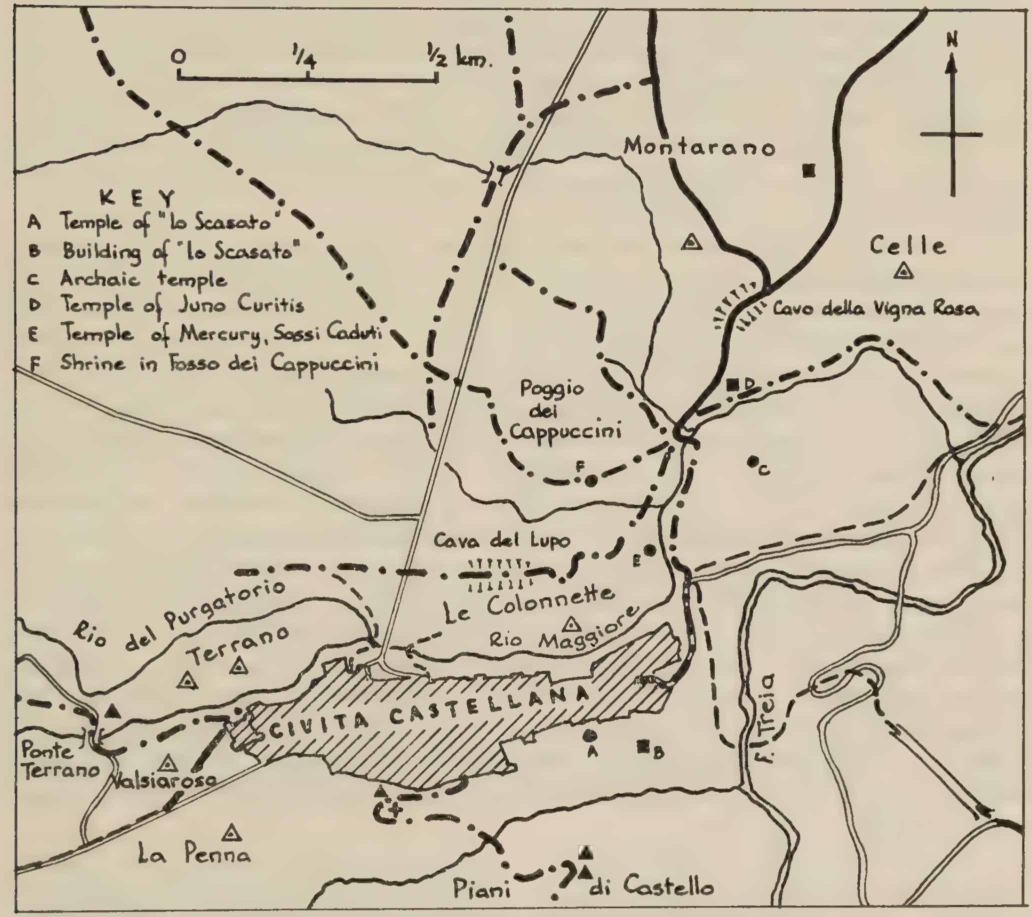


FIG. 23.—CIVITA CASTELLANA (FALERII VETERES)

The town itself stands on a narrow neck of land, guarded on three sides by almost sheer precipices nearly 300 feet high. The approach from the west alone is easy and direct; this was in antiquity defended by a wall, which appears to have followed the line of the defensive ditch, still to be seen there. In later times the fine fortress, commissioned by Alexander VI and mainly designed by Antonio da Sangallo, fulfilled the same function. Beyond the walls lay the rich cemeteries of La Penna and Valsiarosa, which were excavated in 1887 and supply much information about the people who used them.[5] To the south of the town is the wide but precipitous valley of the Rio Filetto, which joins the River Treia just beneath the south-eastern corner of the city. On the north is the narrow and abrupt ravine of the Rio Maggiore; just above the Ponte Clementino (Clement XI, 1709) it is joined by a tributary, the Rio del Purgatorio, and the narrow tongue of land between them, Terrano, served as another of the ancient cemeteries of the city. Below the city and before joining the Treia, the Rio Maggiore describes a circle to the north, to enclose another hill, the Colle Vignale,[6] itself defined in all sides by cliffs; it forms as it were an appendage to the loftier promontory on which the town sat, connected to it by a narrow and comparatively low saddle of land. From the bottom of the valley of the Rio Maggiore, access to the north and west was comparatively easy, by way of the less forbidding slopes and shoulders which lie along the left bank. In this valley, along with other lesser temples, lay the famous shrine of Juno Curitis. The whole area of the town and the surrounding peaks are thickly strewn with cemeteries, and the many façades of tombs cut into the soft tufa precipices are still a remarkable feature of the scenery.

The whole zone has been prodigal in archaeological material, both prehistoric and later, which is now mainly assembled in the Museum of the Villa Giulia in Rome. The present article is restricted to such of the surviving monuments and such other published or otherwise recorded finds as are relevant to the immediate problem, that of establishing the topography of the successive periods.

Before we examine Civita Castellana with these problems in mind, we may briefly sketch what is known of the history of the site. Apparently continuously inhabited from earliest times, the Faliscan territory fell like much of Southern Etruria under archaic Greek influences, and in this respect Falerii may be compared with Caere, Veii, or Rome itself. It is even possible that Greek potters worked at Falerii.[7] The legend of an Argive foundation, which is as old as Cato,[8] may be one of many similar aetiological legends of the time; and the report by Dionysius of Halicarnassus[9] of Greek observances practised until his day in connection with the Temple of Juno Curitis, may be his own special pleading; but the archaeological evidence of Greek contacts is unequivocal. The Falisci were not one of the twelve peoples of Etruria; but affinities with Veii and Fidenae of a political nature are attested in the sources, and ties of sentiment may have existed.[10] The three sites were firmly linked by the Tiber highway itself and by such overland communications as existed at that date.

---

[5] The reports by Pasqui and Cozza are to be found in *Not. Scav.*, 1887, pp. 170 ff., 262 ff., 307 ff.

[6] Mistakenly printed 'Mignale' in the 1940 edition of the 1 : 25,000 map.

[7] Blakeway, *Journal of Roman Studies*, xxv, 1935, 146.

[8] Pliny, *HN* 3, 51.

[9] Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1, 21.

[10] See Bormann, *Arch.-epigr. Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn*, xi, 1887, 103 ff. J. Bayet, in the appendix to the vol. v of the Budé edition of Livy, points out the political cohesion of 'Etruria Tiberina,' as clearly shown by tradition : Faliscans frequently co-operate with Veii in Livy, e.g. 5, 8, 13; 16 ff., while in 5, 17, 6, they plead together in the concilium Etruriae. Livy's mistake in 5, 8, 5, 'duo Etruriae populi,' was an easy one to make. Veii's fall was soon followed by the capture of Capena and Falerii.

Tradition spoke of the surrender of Falerii to Camillus in 394 B.C., after which peace was maintained until 357; then followed further wars, culminating in the last revolt in 241 B.C. and the final reduction of the city. However rash it may be to depend upon all the rhetorical details of these wars, or on the edifying tale of Camillus and the schoolmaster, it is nevertheless to be noted that the local difficulties of the site have some place in the tradition and are clearly evoked by Livy (5, 26, 5): 'mille fere passuum ab oppido castra locant (*sc.* Falisci), nulla re alia fidentes ea satis tuta esse quam difficultate aditus, asperis confragosisque circa, et partim artis, partim arduis viis.' The final rebellion of 241 B.C. impelled the Romans to greater severity; the old town was destroyed, a new one built upon a less defensible site, and the people deprived of half their territory: *ἡ μὲν ἀρχαία πόλις εἰς ὄρος ἐρυμνὸν ἱδρυσαμένη κατεσκάφη, ἑτέρα δ' ᾠκοδομήθη εὐέφοδος.*[11] We do not know which half of the territory was confiscated.[12] The new city became a municipium after the Social War, and remained so until the third century, when it was accorded the status of a colony.[13] In Roman times its territory reached to Monte Soracte and Rignano[14]; its extension northwards is unknown.

It is possible that the earliest settlement of Falerii Veteres was on the Colle Vignale, a hummock strongly guarded on all sides by abrupt walls, a perfect natural position for an acropolis.[15] Excavations there in 1896 by Pasqui and Mengarelli produced material associated with two temples, the earlier being of the sixth century B.C. (fig. 23, C).[16] If this was the site of the original settlement, it would explain why stray tombs, whose date seems prior to the early Greek influences, have been found within the inhabited area of the present town.[17] But it is perfectly clear that the later and more developed settlement stood on the plateau of the modern Civita Castellana, the defensive centre of the surrounding hills. It is clearly attested by the stretches of its walling in nearly rectangular tufa blocks, which must be near in date to those of Sutri and Nepi.

While it is certain that this was the site of the Falerii Veteres which the Romans conquered, there is less unanimity on the important corollary that the old town was decisively destroyed and rendered uninhabitable. Falerii Novi was not made a colony until the third century A.D.; but a 'colonia Iunonia' is mentioned in the *Liber Coloniarum*, and Pliny also seems to speak of an Augustan colony at Falerii.[18] It has therefore been suggested that a colony was at some date planted on the ruined site of the old town.[19] This evidence, however, is very insecure; Pliny here probably meant to refer to Falerio, the town in Picenum, which appears to have received an Augustan colony,[20] and the *Liber Coloniarum* has no independent weight. While the literary evidence is ambiguous, the archaeological evidence shows clearly that as late as the second century A.D. part of the former inhabited area was in use as a cemetery. On two separate occasions poor graves covered with tiles have been found in the square to the east of the Castle, well within the line of the former defensive wall. For the rest, the only buildings within the walls that are known to have remained in use in Roman times are two pre-Roman temples. There are also the remains of pottery-kilns dating from the second or first century B.C. There may well have been scattered occupation of the ancient site, sufficient to warrant the building of a modest aqueduct (that over the Fosso Tre Ponti), and some of its temples remained in use; but there was no formal resettlement.

---

[11] Zon. 8, 18: cf. Strabo 5, 226; Pol. 1, 65, 2.

[12] Beloch (*Röm. Gesch.*, p. 610 f.) infers from Pliny, *HN.* 7, 19, that the area near Soracte and the Tiber was confiscated; this seems a probable conjecture.

[13] *CIL* xi, p. 465, Beloch, *Röm. Gesch.*, p. 515 f.

[14] *CIL* xi, 3930.

[15] See Barnabei, *Mon. Ant.* iv, 1894, c. 15 ff.; he would place an earlier, pre-Greek settlement on the heights of Montarano, involving thus two moves before the accepted site of the town; but Montarano has no defences, and the traces of habitations may be strays. For tombs there, *Not. Scav.*, 1908, p. 18.

[16] No report was published of these excavations, but the material will be found in Della Seta, *Museo di Villa Giulia*, p. 177 ff.; cf. Andrén, *Etrusco-Italic Terracottas*, p. 93.

[17] *Not. Scav.*, 1903, p. 454-5.

[18] *Lib. Col.*, p. 217, 5 (Lachmann): colonia Iunonia quae appellatur Faliscos a triumviris assignata. Pliny *HN* 3, 52.

[19] Beloch, *Röm. Gesch.*, p. 610 f.

[20] See *CIL*, xi, p. 517; Mommsen, *Gesamn. Schr.*, v, pp. 217, 238; recently, Degrassi, *Mem. Acc. Lincei, Cl. mor. stor. fil.*, VIII, ii, 6, p. 290 f.

The resettlement of the site was a product of the collapse of Roman power. The name, Civita Castellana, is symptomatic. It was the needs for security and defence that were now once more paramount, and the Roman city on the open plateau was gradually abandoned in favour of the stupendous natural fortifications of the ancient site. The cathedral is first mentioned in A.D. 727 and preserves architectural fragments of the same period. Falerii Novi lingered on until it was finally sacked by the Normans in 1261.[21] All that remained thereafter was the fine Romanesque abbey church of Santa Maria, from which the site takes its present name.

For the cemetery near the Castle, apparently of the second century A.D., see *Not. Scav.*, 1903, p. 455; similar tombs have recently been unearthed in the same spot (information from Sig. Bracci).

For the temples (fig. 23, A and B) see *Not. Scav.*, 1887, p. 137 ff.; 1888, p. 414 ff.; Taylor and Bradshaw, *PBSR*, viii, 1916, p. 1 ff.; A. Andrén, *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples*, 1940, p. 121 ff. The associated terracottas date from the fourth to the first century B.C. A layer of ashes suggests a destruction by fire, perhaps on the occasion of the Roman sack; later there is evidence of a second destruction, the debris from which was pushed into a pit, and above this there was a thin layer of material dating from the end of the first century B.C., including some terra sigillata.

For the pottery-kiln, see *Not. Scav.*, 1903, p. 456 ff.

In addition, numerous architectural fragments of classical date can be seen re-used in the Romanesque churches of S. Gregorio and S. Maria del Carmine and in the crypt of the cathedral, as well as here and there elsewhere in the town (Via delle Palme, Via Corsica, Via Panico); other remains may be seen in the garden attached to S. Maria del Carmine, and there is a collection of inscriptions, sarcophagi and smaller pieces in the cathedral or in the Sede Vescovile. But none of these are known to have come in the first instance from the town itself; they might equally well have been brought in the Middle Ages from the deserted site of Falerii Novi.

Although the town itself did not survive into Roman times, its associated shrines did. The most important of these was the renowned sanctuary of Juno Curitis (fig. 23, D), whose worship continued into Imperial times.[22] Of the other shrines in the same area, the only other site of any importance is that of the Temple of Mercury in the area called Sassi Caduti (fig. 23, E); there may have been two temples on this site, which originated in archaic times and continued until the third or fourth centuries B.C.; the profuse remains from it include votive inscriptions.[23] It was certainly inhabited in Roman times, though it is uncertain that it survived as a shrine; recent finds include clay water-pipes, a mosaic pavement and traces of stuccoed walling;[24] in any case it was of minor importance. The third shrine, that of the Fosso dei Cappuccini or Ninfeo Rosa (fig. 23, F), is very imperfectly known.[25] The temple of the Colle Vignale has no trace of later use. The fact that two and possibly three shrines were all sited in the same area, a little down-stream from Falerii Veteres in the deep valley of the Rio Maggiore, has a certain importance for the survival of the earlier roads; some of these may well have continued in use in Roman times, and one must also reckon with the possibility that the Romans created new major approaches from their new town site and from the Via Flaminia, built in 221 B.C.

---

[21] Del Frate, p. 20.

[22] See Pasqui, *Not. Scav.*, 1886, p. 8; 1887, p. 92 ff.; *Röm. Mitt.*, ii, 1887, p. 22 ff.; L. R. Taylor, *Cults of Etruria*, p. 71 ff.; Deecke, pp. 37, 83 ff.; Andrén, p. 80 ff.; and Stefani in *Not. Scav.*, 1947, p. 69 ff. The full bibliography is given in Andrén.

[23] *CIE* ii.2, 8036–69; Mengarelli, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1907, p. 296 ff.; *Bull. Comm. Arch.*, 1911, p. 62 ff.; Andrén, p. 104 ff.; Stefani, *Not. Scav.*, 1948, p. 102 ff.

The traveller today who wishes to leave Civita Castellana in a northerly direction has his task lightened by the Ponte Clementino (pl. XXXVII, *d*). This striking bridge, built in 1709 by Clement XI, was a bold answer to an ancient problem, that of crossing the deep and narrow ravine of the Rio Maggiore on the north side of the town, to reach the extensive plateau stretching away on the far side. Before it was built, this approach was not available to heavy traffic. The easiest crossing involved leaving the city in an easterly direction, descending by the line of the modern road, and climbing again to the opposite plateau by one of the easier and less abrupt routes further downstream. Thus, in the Middle Ages one route descended to the floor of the Treia valley, and reascended by the Fosso della Caduta, up which the modern Flaminia runs today.[26] The Roman Via Flaminia ran some way to the east, avoiding Falerii Veteres altogether; in the Middle Ages, and subsequently between the fifteenth and the early seventeenth centuries, the road was gradually diverted to take in Civita Castellana; finally the building of the Ponte Clementino made it possible to enter and leave the city again without retracing one's steps.

The precise point where the ancient road left the town is now lost; perhaps it descended by a cutting which has since been obliterated by its modern successor. At the north-east corner of the town is the low saddle which connects the ridge to the Colle Vignale, with the bed of the River Treia on the right and on the left the Rio Maggiore. Beyond this, an old track may be seen descending from the town along the right bank of the Rio Maggiore. Tombs and other excavated cavities may still be seen on the Vignale, which is alleged at one time to have contained some Christian frescoes, though a search on the spot failed to reveal them.[27] An arched medieval bridge (pl. XXXVII, *c*) marks the position of what must have been a natural crossing also in antiquity; blocks of *selce* in the stream suggest that the ancient crossing, which must have been of considerable importance, lay somewhat downstream of its medieval successor.[28] Only a short distance down on the left bank of the Rio Maggiore is the temple of Juno Curitis, of which there is now little to see; a short distance upstream on the same side was the Temple of Mercury, with the outcrop of Sassi Caduti and the town itself looming in the distance; and directly west the small shrine in the Fosso dei Cappuccini. This is the first point at which a crossing of the Rio Maggiore can conveniently be made; further upstream the precipices are too abrupt on either side to bring any road for wheeled traffic down.

---

[24] *Not. Scav.*, 1948, p. 109.

[25] *Bull. Ist.*, 1875, 133; cf. Gamurrini in *Not. Scav.*, 1887, p. 101 ff.

[26] There are medieval remains on Monte Lombrica and a medieval chapel of S. Susanna still stands on the left of the road.

[27] Cf. del Frate, p. 79.

[28] Cf. Pasqui, *Not. Scav.*, 1887, p. 93.

From here, on the other hand, a radiating series of shelving gullies gives access to the heights above, and a corresponding series of roads and paths struck out to the north and west.

While sizeable traffic might descend to the valley by the path just described, it is clear that it involved a considerable detour for foot traffic, and for this other means were available. Two small posterns served the medieval town on the north side, of which one, immediately downstream from the Ponte Clementino, has now perished; from each a narrow, twisting path led, which cut a way for itself down the nearly vertical tufa walls, and climbed up the other side, with no trace of a substantial or permanent crossing in the stream bed. Both paths were seen by earlier visitors.[29] The one now extant, leading from the Via dei Molini, passes through a small medieval gateway and descends vertiginously; though much ruined by rock-falls, erosion or cultivation, it is declared to be ancient by the simple rock-cut tombs that line it.[30] Clearly this path and its fellow could not have served any heavier traffic than a donkey; the descent and ascent, where preserved, are steep, the path itself narrow, and the crossing at all times dependent on the capricious behaviour of the stream at the bottom. What happened to these paths on the northern side of the Rio Maggiore is now permanently obscured by modern building. Pasqui saw the westernmost of these two, striking out to the left, and it may be that it connected with an early road going in the direction of Falerii Novi.[31] But it is also certain that an archaic road, now largely obliterated, ran northwards across the plateau, approximately following the line of the modern road from the Ponte Clementino. This road will be discussed later (p. 149) but for the present we may assume that the paths issuing from the two posterns connected with it.

A third path descending into the ravine is to be seen at the western end of the town; but it is guarded by a gate which is part of the Borgia Fortress, and is clearly of that date; there is nothing to be seen of antiquity along its course, and the probable inference is that it is much later.

A fourth exit in the north side is of greater interest. A gateway is still to be seen cut into the face of the rock, by which a steep route ascended into the garden of the convent attached to the church of S. Maria del Carmine. It is no longer accessible from below, since the road has recently been removed by the collapse of the rock face into which it was cut; but the earlier descriptions[32] inferred with much probability that it gave access to the temples of the valley, and was a short cut to the temple of Mercury and thence along the valley to the main crossing of the Rio Maggiore that we have already described.

The gate itself is an impressive but neglected monument.[33] As will be seen from the accompanying drawings (fig. 24) and photographs (pl. XXXIX) it was sited within a natural declivity in the cliff-top. Around most of the circuit there can have been little need for artificial defences, and the walls may well in fact have been discontinuous. Where there was a gap, however, as here, it was filled with a massive

---

[29] Pasqui, *loc. cit.*; Dennis, i, p. 95.

[30] Del Frate, p. 49, speaks of a tower, which is not to be seen now.

[31] So Pasqui, *op. cit.*, tav. II, fig. 1, 'd'; also his notes in the Villa Giulia; but cf. below.

[32] *Bull. Comm. Arch.*, 1911, p. 62 f.; *Not. Scav.*, 1948, p. 102.

[33] We wish to express our thanks to His Excellency the Bishop of Civita Castellana for his courtesy in allowing us to study this important monument, and for the active interest with which he followed the work.

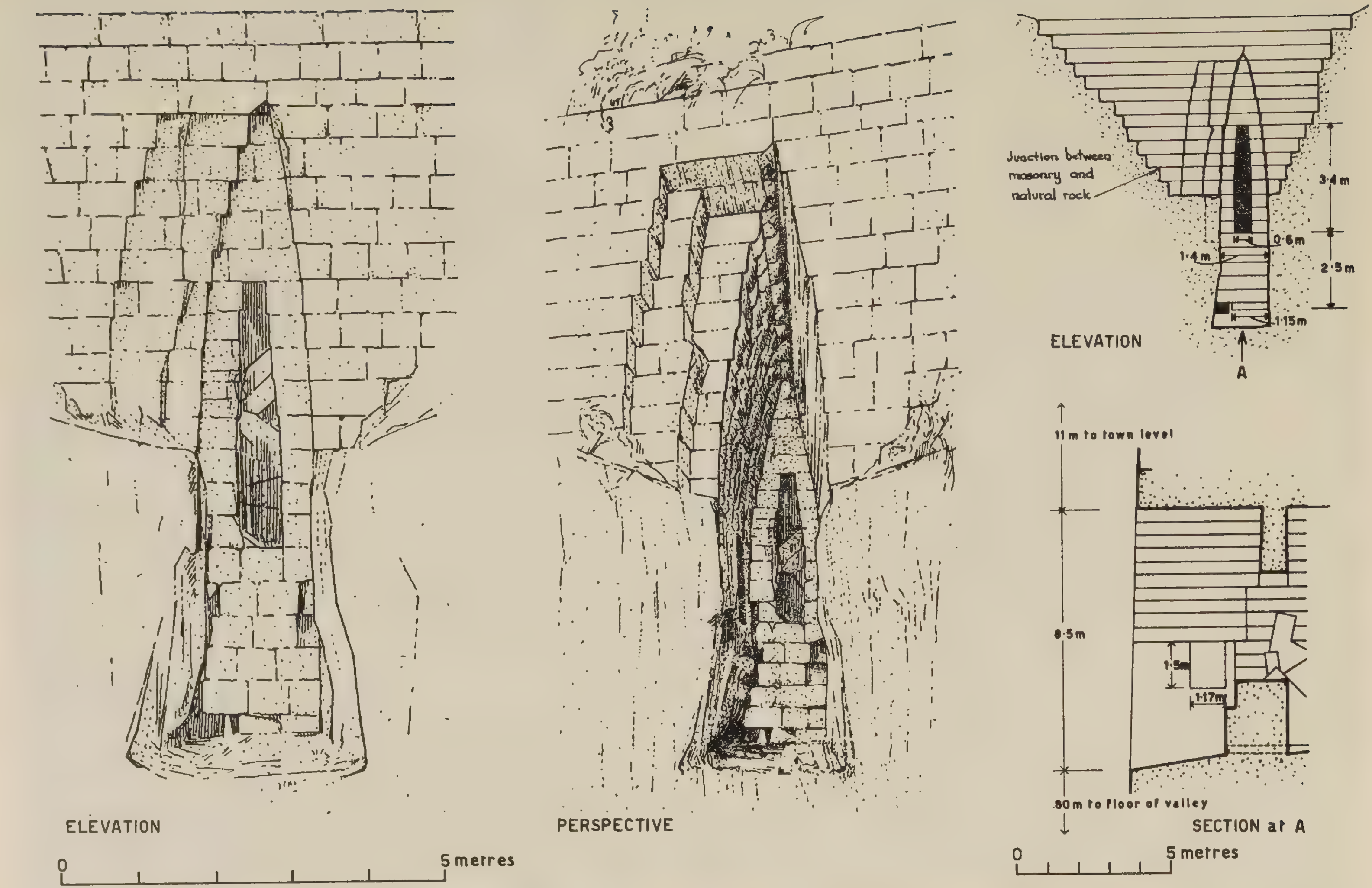


Fig. 24.—Faliscan Gateway in the Garden of The Monastero delle Clarisse, Civita Castellana (Falerii Veteres) (cf. plate XXXIX)

wall of tufa masonry, stepped into the living rock at either end and, in this particular case, built in regular courses of 47–48 cm., with a strong tendency towards the regular alternation of headers and stretchers. The actual gate straddled a trenched pathway, about 1.40 m. wide and nearly 4 m. deep, which may already have existed when the wall was built. Across this the main wall was carried on a tall, narrow, corbelled arch (part of the left-hand side has fallen away, to a depth of two courses), and the gate is set back within this, a tall, slender opening, 60 cm. wide and 3.40 m. high, slightly tapering upwards and capped with a flat lintel. Inside the gate the passage appears to open out again, but this part is now blocked and inaccessible; just outside it, on the left, there is a shallow, rectangular recess. The most distinctive feature of this gate is that, although the masonry is carried right down to the floor of the cutting, the door itself is 2.50 m. above it. Presumably one passed through it by means of a wooden ramp or steps, which could be removed in times of emergency.

From the above account of the local roads to the north of the town, it will be seen that ancient Falerii was connected with the valley of the Rio Maggiore by a number of routes, several minor paths and one main road capable of carrying more cumbersome traffic. In Roman times the prominence of the shrine of Juno was an important factor; but it is clear that even before then an easily graded descent could only be carried down to the sanctuary from the eastern end of the town. The fact that the valley thus provided the most natural crossing to the north, together with the presence of the shrines, was enough to make it at all times an important centre of communications.

IV. ROADS LEADING WEST AND NORTH FROM FALERII VETERES

(*a*) *The Roads from Falerii Veteres to Nepi* (figs. 3, p. 79; 10, p. 98; 25)

There are two theoretical possibilities for the route to Nepi. The easier way is to travel west along the ridge on which Falerii Veteres stood until a point is reached where the valleys narrow or soften sufficiently to be traversed easily. The alternative is to cross the single steep but splaying valley of the Rio Filetto on the south side of the town and to follow the opposite plateau, the Piani di Castello, back in a westerly and southerly direction to a point opposite Nepi, skirting the head of the remaining *fosso* and entering the town at its north-west corner. The former is the longer and easier route; it is that of the modern road and was probably also the route in Roman times, when the Via Amerina afforded an easy crossing over the intervening gorges. The latter is shorter and steeper; it was the Faliscan and medieval route (pl. XXXVII, *b*).

This earlier road is now represented by the country track that links Civita Castellana to Castel Sant'Elia, and thence to Nepi. The exit from Civita Castellana is to the south of the city, by the so-called Porta Lanciana. A path, broad enough for a small cart and graded accordingly, descends to the valley bottom in a wide hairpin bend.

By the Porta Lanciana itself no trace of antiquity remains, although the medieval remains here are probably repairs to the ancient defences, which would have followed the crest of the precipice. The road itself, however, is lined with tombs, now used

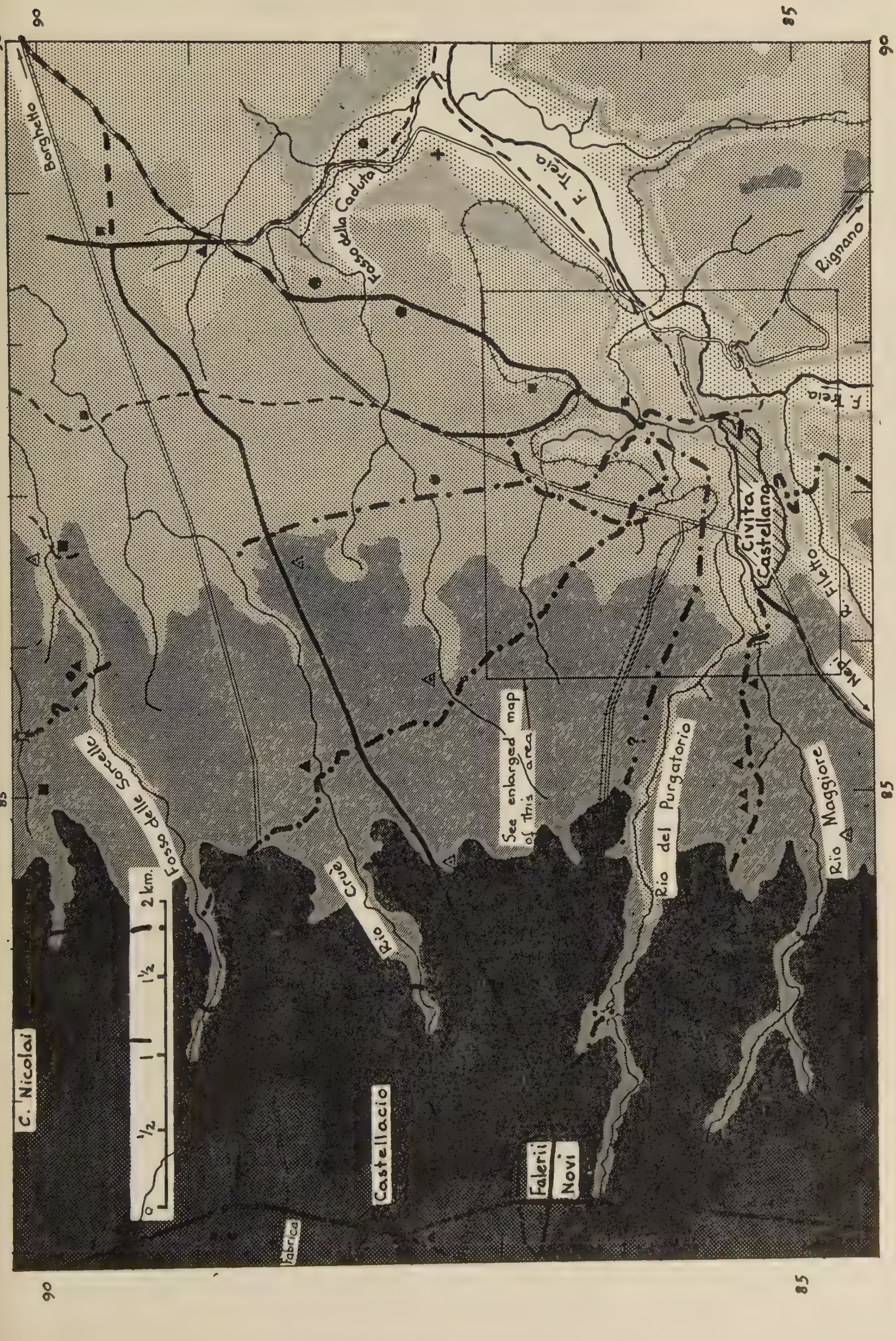


FIG. 25.—ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL ROADS NORTH AND WEST OF CIVITA CASTELLANA (for the conventions used, see fig. 2a; cf. also fig. 23)

to house domestic animals; these are the characteristic square Faliscan rock-chambers and, though small, their antiquity is assured by the remains of their façades and of the characteristic pitched roofs. At the foot of the sheer cliff the road is spanned by a round-arched gateway of medieval date, and just below it, beside the road, is the sixteenth-century chapel of Santa Maria della Caritá.

There are no traces of antiquity in the more level stretch where the road traverses the valley bottom, nor at the crossing of the Rio Filetto. Beside the modern foot-bridge, the broken skeletons of two earlier bridges stand. Neither is ancient; such streams flood easily and few bridges can long withstand their violence. A few blocks of *selce* in the stream to either side indicates an attempt to systematise the crossing, possibly in ancient times.

The road ascends the southern side by a broad and skilfully-sited zig-zag to the Piani di Castello, in an easy gradient. Before it mounts the plateau, at a sharp turn to the right, we may note two moderately sized tombs of indeterminate date, set in the scarp on the left. The last stage of the ascent is tackled in a fashion characteristic of road-building in this tufa country; faced with an abrupt wall, the road is simply carried head-on into the soft tufa, and is gradually brought to the upper level at some distance from the precipice, thereby gaining height without deviating at all in its course. That this has been the case here is certain, despite the fact that the road has long since degenerated into an untended country track, and that the original cuttings are sometimes obscured by erosion. In some places, where the old one was no longer viable, the modern track has deviated and the traces of ancient cutting can still be seen in the walls (pl. XXXVIII, *a*). Elsewhere, it has been worn and eroded over the centuries to a sunken lane not unlike the 'cupe' of Campania.

The level plateau on which the road now runs has long been cultivated, and for nearly 5 km. the road makes its way as a broad country track between fields that have removed all traces of ancient settlement. A roadside shrine on the left is a witness to long use. Then, less than 2 km. short of Castel Sant'Elia the peninsula narrows and the road traverses a knife-edge ridge, now little more than 10 m. wide, with vertical precipices some 30 m. high on either side. This would at any period have been an obvious site for a defensive barrier, and precisely at the narrowest point a ditch, some 4 km. wide and at present 3 m. deep, has been cut in the rock across the neck. The surface of the plateau has at this point been almost completely denuded and the only possible traces that remain of any associated structure are some foundation cuttings in the rock to the south of the road and east of the ditch, and a quantity of very fragmentary Roman and medieval pottery. This was probably the site of some medieval stronghold controlling the whole plateau (cf. Castel Paterno on the headland opposite, which offers a close parallel), built possibly on the remains of an earlier building and now in its turn completely destroyed. It can hardly have been of any great size, and the name of the plateau, Piani di Castello, like that of the adjoining Fosso di Castello, is probably to be related, not to this site, but to the commune to which it now belongs, Castel Sant'Elia.

Although the evidence (see below) is limited, it is enough to confirm the suspicion that this promontory, like its neighbours to the north-west and south, being eminently cultivable, was already partially cleared and inhabited in antiquity. The centre on which such scattered settlement depended was Castel Sant'Elia, a Faliscan village (attested as such by its cemeteries), sited on a small, naturally defensible promontory at the crossing of the ridgeway road by a smaller track, which runs north and south across country (pl. XL). There are Roman remains and inscriptions in the town and in the adjoining church of Sant'Elia, but these are just as likely to have been brought from Nepi or some other centre as they are to have been local; that the church of Sant'Elia was built on the site of an ancient temple is pure conjecture. In the early Middle Ages the position and isolation of the site led to its revival, and the valley below was chosen for the foundation of one of the earliest Benedictine communities. Like its medieval successor, the Faliscan settlement was doubtless of modest size and purely local importance—typical of the smaller *castella* which the pre-Roman and medieval ages produced, and which declined in more settled periods.

From Castel Sant'Elia to Nepi the road has been modernised; the traces of antiquity—roadside tombs, walling, and the sunken road—which Dennis saw here have been largely lost, although stray tombs may still be seen in the southern cliff-face which looks over the Fosso di Castello, and more near Nepi itself. As it approached Nepi it came within the area of an ancient cemetery. Here it must have joined the old road to the north and, skirting the head of the gorge (which has almost certainly cut back some distance since antiquity; p. 90), it entered the city by the easy route across the top of the falls, as does the modern road and as did the Roman Via Amerina.

Throughout its length from Falerii Veteres the road shows no signs of paving, except possibly at the crossing of the Rio Filetto; and except for the material at Castel Sant'Elia, few traces of Roman antiquity are recorded from it. But there can be little doubt of its age : it connects two towns that are demonstrably Faliscan in origin, and the nondescript but nevertheless early tombs along its course are signs of high antiquity. Like many such roads, its use revived in the Middle Ages.

813805 (approx.) For cemeteries with early Faliscan tombs along the northern edge of the Fosso del Ponte (the northern branch of the Fosso di Castello) opposite Nepi, see *Not. Scav.*, 1910, p. 222, 'vigna Pentriani.' The tomb described in *Not. Scav.*, 1918, pp. 16–19, seems to have been related to a road leading northwards, along the line later followed by the Via Amerina, rather than to the road from Nepi to Falerii Veteres. Traces of antiquity were already scant along this stretch a century ago (Dennis, i, p. 87), but a certain number of tombs can still be seen along the brow of the cliffs opposite Nepi.

827818 A pair of similar rock-cut tombs on the brow of the hill overlooking the Mola di S. Elia from the north-east. In 1955, when first visited, the better preserved of these tombs was in excellent condition : a square chamber (2.30 × 2.50 m.) with tile-closed *loculi* and long, narrow *dromos*. Since then it has been put to use by a local farmer and is barely recognisable.

831811 Castel S. Elia. The present village occupies a small, naturally defensible promontory between the Fosso di Castello and a small, steep tributary valley, which joins it from the north (pl. XL, *c*). Down this valley, which is lined with rock-chambers, now reused by the villagers but some of them certainly ancient, there runs a steep path, which leads to the ancient church of S. Elia, on a shelf half way down the slope, and thence to a fine old bridge across the stream. From the bridge a steep, rock-cut path zig-zags up the far slopes; near the top, where the present track doubles back to the left, the older line can be seen continuing obliquely across the rock face to the right, through a characteristic cutting in the cliffs along the crest, and so out on to the plateau beyond. As along the road from Civita Castellana to Nepi, there are very few visible antiquities along the line of this road, but many signs of ancient cultivation; the track (it can never have been more than a mule-track) is almost certainly ancient, leading across to the area of Mazzano and Filissano, which was thickly populated both in Faliscan and Roman times.

continuation of the same track led north-westwards from the village, past the old mill (827817), which is sited on a rocky natural crossing of the Rio Vicano, and so out on to the promontory between the Rio Vicano and the Fosso dell'Isola, where there are many traces of ancient habitation.

For a securely dated tomb of the Faliscan period (red-figured vases), found on the site of the modern cemetery, see *Not. Scav.*, 1879, p. 262 (the tomb described *ibid.*, p. 261, although within the territory of the Comune, is beside the Via Amerina); for Roman antiquities now at Castel S. Elia, *CIL*, xi, p. 481; *Not. Scav.*, 1895, p. 419; *Boll. d'arte*, 1950, pp. 1–8.

For the church of S. Elia, a very early Benedictine foundation (pl. XL, *c*), see Tomassetti, iii, pp. 157–159; G. J. Hoogewerff, *Dedalo*, viii, 1927–28, pp. 331–341.

846816 (approx.) Cemetery of poor tombs, found within the last few years during quarrying operations; in 1955 the typical conical and rectangular cavities were still visible. To judge from the workmen's reports the finds of pottery included black-glazed and coarse wares.

849816 Defensive ditch across the neck of the promontory between Castel S. Elia and the Piani di Castello; also the probable site of an associated castle; see above. The exposed rock surface to the south of the road shows clear traces of levelling for the laying of walls and floors, and at one point there are remains of an *opus signinum* floor. The pottery, though abundant, is very fragmentary, as if from long exposure to cultivation, and includes some recognisable Roman sherds (terra sigillata) and many that are almost certainly medieval.

852827 (approx.) A small cemetery cut in the cliffs overlooking the Rio Vicano, just below the crest; a path leads down to it from the plateau above. The presumed site of the associated settlement is now under long-standing cultivation and careful search has revealed only a block of travertine and a few possibly ancient sherds.

There are what appear to be similar tombs in the cliffs opposite, across the valley.

873849 A pair of tombs, of indeterminate date, beside the road leading down from the Piani di Castello towards Civita Castellana.

Pasqui and Cozza mention in their notes a Faliscan site on the Piani di Castello. It is not clear to which (if any) of the above they refer.

The construction of the Via Amerina added an important new element to the road-pattern of the central Ager Faliscus. For the Roman traveller from Nepi to Falerii Veteres and to the Temple of Juno Curitis it would have been natural to combine the new road with the easier path along the ridge on which Falerii itself stood.

The modern road from Civita Castellana to Nepi dates from the late eighteenth century (p. 195). It leaves the town at the north-west corner and follows a line close to the southern edge of the plateau, crossing the Via Amerina about 200 m. north of the head of the cutting that leads up from the Fosso dell'Isola. The old road to the west seems to have lain in part rather further north, leaving the town at the north-western corner, in the shadow of the Fort. One road from here appears to have crossed the Ponte Terrano (for this road, see p. 143). Another is witnessed as following the old route which, before the days of the motor-car, left here in a south-westerly direction, passing the wayside shrine of the Madonna delle Rose. It is very probable that the ditch on the west side of the fort, which is the town's main defence on this side, is itself ancient, or follows the line of an earlier ditch. Beyond it was the cemetery of Valsiarosa, with that of La Penna on the left, where the excavations of Pasqui and Cozza revealed the blocks of chamber tombs and the deep-hewn lanes of access that formed the cemeteries.

For some of its length the ancient road may well have followed the line of its present-day successor. The evidence is scanty; but paving is known to have emerged under the lane between the modern road and the Madonna delle Rose, and wayside tombs are recorded as having been found during the recent laying of water-pipes along the modern road.[34] About a kilometre and a half out of the town there is what appears to be the core of a Roman tomb about 250 m. north of the modern road, which is here skirting the south edge of the plateau; and near it a shallow, trench-like depression may be detected in the ploughland, running parallel to the modern road and continued in the line of a hedge; this may well mark the line of the ridgeway road before the construction of the present road in the late eighteenth century, and it may go back at least to Roman times. Further west all independent trace of the ancient road has been obliterated, either by cultivation or by the superimposition of the modern road. It has already been remarked (p. 97) that the coincidence of a sudden change in direction in both the modern road and the Via Amerina at the precise point where the two cross can best be explained on the supposition of a branch road of the latter, running eastwards along the ridge towards Falerii. In Roman times it would have served the traveller from Nepi to the temples of Falerii and to the Via Flaminia; and until the cliff fell, destroying the cutting that led up from the Fosso dell'Isola, it would have been the medieval road from Torre dell'Isola to Civita Castellana.

826846 Deep, narrow rock-cutting leading down from the plateau into the bed of the Fosso dei Tre Ponti, immediately above its junction with the Fosso Maggiore; it has a drainage channel cut down one side. There is a much shallower cutting leading up out of the Fosso Maggiore almost opposite, just above the junction of the two streams.

832832 Near the Casale Ciuchino, an artificial cutting some 50 m. long leading down to the Rio Filetto; the road is some 2 m. wide, with a marked central furrow. The stream is here broad and easy to ford.

833850 Elaborate Faliscan rock-cutting, crossing the Fosso Maggiore just above its junction with the Rio Calello, where there is a shallow ford with a good, hard bottom. On the south side a narrow artificial trench, some 200 m. long and up to 15 m. deep, descends through the tufa to the stream bed. The corresponding cutting on the north side, sited almost at the nose of the promontory is even longer; it is now filled with vegetation and completely inaccessible.

The cutting on the south bank, which descends on a gently winding line, is of typically undercut profile, narrow at the top and arching uniformly outwards at a height of some 4 m. above road-level, a conformation which has resulted in the fall of considerable masses of rock from the east face. There was a surface drain down one side of the road, and near the top, on the right, a small rock-cut tomb, the façade of which has fallen. The northern cutting climbs left and then sharp right, disappearing into the cliff face and swinging left round the nose of the promontory, to emerge a considerable distance to the west, near the crest of the ridge. There is a tomb cut in the rock face where it leaves the valley.

Cut in the left-hand rock face of the southern cutting about half way down are two inscriptions. The texts reproduced in *CIL* and *CIE* are derived from an anonymous copy in the Vatican (Cod. Vat. Lat. 9140, f. 327r) and an unpublished reading by Ciampini, both of them faulty.

(i) Cut in the west wall, near the point of greatest depth, at a height of about 2 m. above the original road-level. It appears to be complete. Total length, 4,26 m. Deeply-cut Latin characters 0.28–0.36 m. high. Plate XLI, *b*.

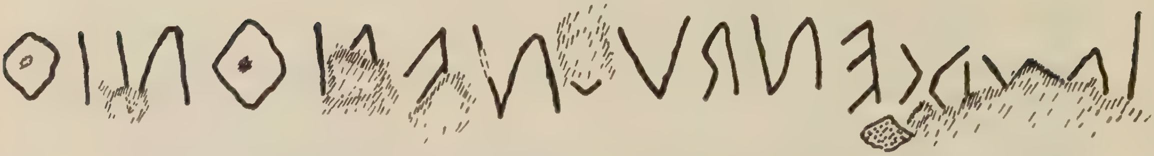
FVRC . T . P . C . EF . I . VEI

CIE, 8333; *CIL*, xi, 3161, cf. p. 1323, note on no. 3161, where another but equally incorrect reading by Ciampini is given. The meaning is unknown.

(ii) On the same side, a short distance further down towards the stream, about 1.5 m. above the original road-level, an inscription cut in Etruscan characters, now much worn. Surviving length, 3.54 m.; letters, c. 0.28 m. Plate XLI *a*.

---

[34] The paving appeared about five years ago; we are indebted to Sig. Bracci for this information.



CIE 8333, where it is published together with the foregoing inscription, and the attempt is made to see Latin letters. Several more lines of nonsensical characters are there given, of which there does not seem to be any trace; see also Deecke, p. 156, no. 35; *CIL*. xi, 3161. The reading given above is provisional; it was made by Miss J. M. Reynolds and Mr. Russell Meiggs, with slight corrections (based on photographs) by Professor Massimo Pallottino, who has kindly examined our notes and suggests the possible transcription ... ṂẠÇENẠV[·]NẸṚIONIO, i.e. a name, in the form of a male nomen and cognomen, [.?.] *ṃaçenạ ụẹneṛịonio*, or of a female name followed by that of her husband, *ṃaçenạ ụẹneṛịonio*(s); both names have Faliscan parallels. Pending further study, both reading and interpretation should be treated with reserve.

In addition to the above, there are a number of isolated road-maker's signs cut in the rock face high up above the present road-level; e.g. a broad arrow on the undercut curve of the east face, nearly opposite the two principal inscriptions; and above it, to the left, on the vertical face of the narrow trench, six short vertical strokes.

These inscriptions are valuable corroborative evidence of the date of this and other similar cuttings. They prove, moreover, that the clear traces of successive lowerings of the level are all ancient, and represent no more than the successive stages of the cutting of such a road.

The scale of this pair of cuttings suggests that it may have been intended to serve something more than the convenience of local farm traffic. To anyone travelling westwards from Falerii Veteres towards Sutri it would have offered an easy and almost equally direct alternative to the ridgeway track that runs westwards from the Ponte Terrano, between the Rio del Purgatorio and the Fosso Maggiore; it may even be the original course of this road, before the building of the first Ponte Terrano. It would have joined the ridgeway track about 2 km. to the west, just past the headwaters of the Rio Calello.

846846 Remains of a small cemetery, immediately to the north of the lane, where some modern farm-buildings stand on a low hillock; tombs of the usual simple square type, some with traces of façades, others cut through by later digging.

850846 A shallow valley runs parallel to and about 400 m. north of the modern road, and the present track in it shows some ancient features. From it a road-like trench strikes out in a north-westerly direction, gradually rising to ground level. At the point where it leaves the lane a striking feature may be seen—an artificial eminence, rhomboid in plan, and measuring some 12 m. by 12, and about 4 m. wide, cut out of the tufa all round. Into the faces of this eminence have been cut a number of chamber tombs, of considerable size, though now retaining little of their original character; above them ran a cornice of dry-stone tufa blocks. It seems to be the remains of some large family sepulchre hewn out of the living rock; it may be compared with the similar tomb in the Fosso dei Tre Camini (Dennis, i, p. 98).

851845 Small, squarish structure of Roman concrete with a round cavity in the middle; now much overgrown. Presumably the core of a Roman mausoleum.

854844 From the rock cemetery of La Penna on the southern side of the promontory, overlooking the Rio Filetto, a twisting path with artificially rock-cut steps descends the cliffs to the Rio Filetto. Along this path was cut a series of chamber-tombs, which have been amply described by Pasqui and Cozza in their excavations of the cemetery (*Not. Scav.*, 1887, pp. 262–273). Several of them are still there, including one with a well-preserved pedimental façade. The path descends to a spring in the cliff-side, which may well have been used as one of the sources of water for the ancient town.

For the cemeteries of Valsiorosa and La Penna, immediately to the west of the ancient town and to the north and south respectively of the modern road, see Pasqui and Cozza, *Not. Scav.*, 1887, pp. 170–176 and 262–273.

The ditch to the fort, across the neck of the promontory on which the town stands, may very well (as Pasqui suggested, *Not. Scav.*, 1886, p. 153) be ancient; beneath the south-western wall of the fort there is a short stretch of unmistakably ancient tufa walling. It has plausibly been suggested (Del Frate, p. 79) that the Colle Vignale, too, has been artificially separated from the plateau of the town for defensive reasons.

(*b*) *The Roads between Falerii Veteres and Falerii Novi*

Before the construction of the Viterbo railway, the road from Civita Castellana to Fabrica di Roma and to the medieval villages along the slopes of Monte Cimino was that which struck off from the west gate of the town, crossed the Rio Maggiore by the Ponte Terrano and followed the line of what is now a winding country road to join the modern road just east of the walls of Falerii Novi. The ancient road to the north-west followed very much the same line, leaving the town by the same gate as that described in the previous section, and crossing the Rio Maggiore at the same point as, though at a much lower level than, the modern Ponte Terrano. As it stands today, this spectacular bridge is substantially a wide, single-spanned arch resting on a lower span, and carrying above road-level the aqueduct which fed Civita Castellana until recently. Dennis, however, noticed what should have been noticed before, that on the downstream side the pier on the left bank of the stream incorporates unmistakably ancient masonry, of an early and very possibly Faliscan date (see below). The structure above has some medieval elements, while the upper parts are quite modern.

On the north side of the valley the ancient road can be seen as a cutting bearing away at a lower level. Here was the Terrano necropolis, a rich and important cemetery, where the tombs are still as thick as ever. Immediately to the right of the road is a particularly fine one, in which, despite the much ruined façade, one can still admire the typical central beam and displuviate roof, and an inscription in letters 20 cm. high cut in the rear wall, giving the owner of the tomb. Other tombs are less well preserved or have disappeared altogether.

After crossing the bridge the road struck westwards along the modern Tenuta Terrano, where substantial traces of it can still be seen. A deep cutting runs up to the left of the bridge for some 150 m., rising gradually to the surface of the plateau (pl. XXXVIII, *b*). The roadway seems to have been about 2½–3 m. wide and there are still signs of tombs along the sides, a series of cavities and chambers of modest size, one or two of them with traces of outer façades. The modern road swings out rather to the north, but the ancient road may be seen following a line some way to the south of it, describing a gentle curve in a north-westerly direction. Some small, conical tombs were found here recently, near a ceramics factory. Beyond this, the road traverses a gentle depression draining into the Rio Maggiore, leaving the typical trench-like sunken paths on either side. A little way further on, to the right, a group of graves was found at point 853853; and a scarp at the side of the road has another tomb at 850853. Beyond this again the road is marked by a curving line of scrub, bending north.

The road now enters a stretch of rolling, open ground that has been under long and heavy cultivation. The name of the Terrano estate may well preserve that of the *Fundus Terranus*, recorded in an early medieval inscription now in the atrium of the cathedral; and although stray tombs are known to have been found here, the vestiges of the ancient road are largely destroyed. The road to Falerii Novi, like its modern successor, presumably headed for the Fosso dei Tre Camini, which joins the Rio del Purgatorio obliquely from the north-west at an easy natural crossing-place. The Fosso dei Tre Camini is a short, shallow, open valley with a rich series of tombs, being one of the chief cemeteries of Falerii Novi; and at its junction with the Rio del Purgatorio Dennis saw traces of an earlier bridge beside the present one. At the head of the valley the modern road runs straight on to join the main road from Civita Castellana to Fabrica; the ancient road bore left across open ground to enter the east gate of Falerii Novi.

Despite the gap where cultivation has destroyed the old line, the course of the road in Roman times is hardly in doubt; it is clearly fixed by the two bridges. Whether the site of Falerii Novi was its original destination is more questionable. The extant traces of antiquity along it strongly suggest that in some form or other it already existed in pre-Roman times, and that, although it no doubt remained in local use, it was not of sufficient importance within the Roman system to have undergone any substantial alterations or improvements. As so often, it came into its own again in the Middle Ages.

Where did this road originally lead to? In the present state of knowledge one can hardly do more than guess. The site of Falerii Novi itself seems rather an unpromising one for a pre-Roman settlement, although the possibility cannot be altogether excluded. Alternatively, the road that led north-westwards from the Porta di Giove (p. 158) may have served settlements that already existed in that direction before the foundation of Falerii Novi, Faliscan predecessors of the medieval Fabrica (which is not itself an ancient site). Yet another possibility is that in pre-Roman times the road did not cross the Rio del Purgatorio at all, but continued due west along the south bank, where there is a fine old ridgeway track. For the first two or three kilometres of this track there are hardly any traces of antiquity, except where it crosses the Via Amerina; but further on it was certainly in use in Roman times, forming a part of the road from Falerii Novi to Sutri (p. 159), and the whole line may very well be ancient. If we are entitled to assume that there was a direct road from Falerii Veteres to Sutri in Faliscan times, it almost certainly followed the western part of this ridgeway.[35] For the first 6 km. after leaving Falerii it would have had two alternatives—to cross the Fosso Maggiore by the very deep and ancient cutting just above its junction with the Rio Calello (p. 141) and so to join the ridgeway track about 2 km. further west, near where it was later joined by the road from Falerii Novi; or else to cross the Fosso Maggiore at Ponte Terrano, and to follow the ridgeway track right along the whole of its length. There are pre-Roman remains along both routes, and both may well have been Faliscan roads.

One other ancient road deserves brief mention within this area, a steep and somewhat narrow rock-cut road that descends to cross the Fosso Maggiore about a kilometre above Ponte Terrano, at point 850850. The artificially cut cart-ruts indicate an axle-width considerably less than the standard Roman size that one finds, for example, at Pompeii; the natural inference is that they are pre-Roman.[36]

827867 Prominent Roman mausoleum immediately outside the east gate of Falerii Novi. B. Götze, *Das Rundgrab in Falerii*, Stuttgart, 1939.

833865 The cemeteries along the Fosso dei Tre Camini are described by Dennis (i, pp. 97–101). Though considerably damaged since Dennis's time, they would still repay detailed study.

---

[35] There are few, if any, traces of antiquity along the only reasonable alternative line, that which follows the plateau to the north of the Fosso dell'Isola.

[36] Cf. H. Bulle, 'Die Geleisestrassen des Altertums.' *Sitzb. d. Bayerischen Akad. d. Wiss., phil-hist. Klasse*, 1947, 2, p. 124 ff.

835863 The present bridge over the Rio del Purgatorio is of no great antiquity. Dennis (i, p. 97) saw the remains of an earlier bridge beside it, but these have now disappeared.

850853 Tomb cut in a scarp beside the road.

853853 A group of graves was found here, just to the north of the road.

855853 A group of small, conical chamber tombs found here recently, near the ceramics factory.

860852 Ponte Terrano. Some twelve courses of typical tufa masonry can be seen, now much overgrown. The blocks are irregular in size, and vary in height from 60 to 66 cm.; they are laid in alternating headers and stretchers. They are roughly fashioned, few being perfectly rectangular in form, and there are traces of drafting at the joints.

861853 Inscribed tomb (*CIE*, ii, 2, 8205) beside the ancient road, just north of Ponte Terrano; at a later date *loculi* have been cut in the inscribed rear wall. Beyond the tomb stretches the Terrano cemetery, occupying the long, narrow tongue of ground between the mouths of the precipitous gorges of the Rio Maggiore and the Rio Purgatorio; see Garrucci, *Dissertazioni Archeologiche*, i, 1864, p. 60 ff.; *CIE*, p. 35, 8205–8213.

The road just described is not the only one that linked Falerii Novi with the eastern Ager Faliscus. A second road is known to have connected the town with the temple of Juno Curitis. This is the *Via Sacra*, attested by inscriptions of Falerii Novi as running *a chalcidico ad lucum Junon(is) Curritis*;[37] it was of sufficient importance to be restored under the late Empire, although it is not certain that it was ever paved. It presumably left Falerii Novi by the east gate, diverging from the road just described in order to pass round the head of the Fosso dei Tre Camini and following the plateau to the north of the Rio del Purgatorio. At point 835864 there is a typical cutting, now occupied by a farm-track; and a couple of *selce* blocks may be seen near the Casale Paoletta (852862), which (if they are not strays) may be a sole relic of an original paving. But for the rest all traces of the road have virtually disappeared. Presumably it followed a line parallel to that of the railway.

Pasqui reported the existence of a 'via selciata,'[38] crossing the new road from the Ponte Clementino at a right angle and descending the Poggio dei Capuccini in a sloping line, where many ancient cavities were to be seen. If this was indeed the Via Sacra, it must have veered north, to descend to the temple of Juno by a route that is now nearly obliterated. The present remains suggest, however, that the line which Pasqui saw was that of another road, striking off in the direction of Corchiano (see p. 146); and that the Via Sacra descended somewhat to the south of this by the cutting known as Cava del Lupo (or 'Cava Furiana')[39] on the hill called 'Le Colonnette.' This is a straight trench some 50 m. in length, 3 m. wide, and varying in depth up to 5 m. The purpose of this striking excavation was to break the steep edge of the valley by carrying a road directly into the precipice and up a very gentle incline to the plateau above. There is no sign of paving, either in the cutting or further down the slope; but its width and dead straightness have a flavour of Roman work, either employing Faliscan methods or renovating an existing Faliscan road. Whatever its original date, the Cava del Lupo is certainly a fine example of this technique, and on all grounds it seems reasonable to identify it as a part of the Via Sacra.

---

[37] *CIL*, xi, 3126, cf. 3138; see also below, p. 190.

[38] *Not. Scav.*, 1887, p. 93.

[39] The name 'Cava Furiana' was given to it by the earlier antiquaries, who identified Civita Castellana with Veii and took this to be Camillus's tunnel.

In this connection it may be of some interest to consider our only surviving description of the festival of Juno Curitis. The poet Ovid, one of whose wives was a Faliscan, accompanied her to see the procession:[40]

> Cum mihi pomiferis coniunx foret orta Faliscis
> Moenia contigimus victa, Camille, tibi. (*ll.* 1–2)

The preparations were under way; however difficult to get there, it was worth it:

> Grande morae pretium ritus cognoscere, quamvis
> Difficilis clivis huc via praebet iter. (*ll.* 5–6)

There follows a description of the mysterious and heavily wooded site of the shrine; then the procession begins:

> Huc ubi praesonuit sollemni tibia cantus,
> It per velatas annua pompa vias. (*ll.* 11–12)

The victims and the choirs of youths and maidens,

> Praeverrunt latas veste iacente vias. (*l.* 24)

The preparations were presumably made in Falerii Novi, where inscriptions record the *pontifex sacrarius Iunonis Quiritis*;[41] moreover we may be sure that in Ovid's day nothing remained on the old site. Hence the Via Sacra, as indeed its name would suggest, was probably the road along which the procession moved to the temple. The important role that this road played somewhat increases the likelihood that it descended by the Cava del Lupo. If Ovid's description represents a visitor's general impressions, it can hardly refer to any other route; it is difficult to see how the stately procession could have used the rocky path that descends from the Poggio dei Cappuccini, in which flags overhead and draperies underfoot would have been a positive encumbrance.[42]

(*c*) *From Falerii Veteres to Corchiano*

The shortest link today between Civita Castellana and Corchiano is represented by an unpaved country track which follows an almost direct line between the two towns. Vehicles must make a wide detour. For the first few kilometres the route is not at all troublesome, but the gorges near Corchiano itself can be negotiated only with extreme difficulty.

To reach this road one now turns left off the main road about half a kilometre north of Ponte Clementino. Before the present road and bridge were built it must have struck off from the valley of the Rio Maggiore, whence an ancient road, now barely recognisable as such, climbed the slopes of the Poggio dei Cappuccini, to emerge at the top roughly on the line of the present country track; there were still tombs and other ancient features visible along it at the end of the last century

---

[40] *Amores*, iii, 13.

[41] *CIL*, xi, 3100, 3125.

[42] Gamurrini, *Not. Scav.*, 1887, pp. 101–107, who read *hinc* in *l.* 11, understood the procession to move from the *ara*, which he identified with the shrine in the Fosso dei Cappuccini, to the temple, a short distance away. But the right reading is more likely to be *huc*, that is the victims are being led towards the altar (see Munari's edition, La Nuova Italia, Firenze, 1951); and this *ara per antiquas facta sine arte manus* is the archaic shrine immediately adjoining the temple (Stefani, *Not. Scav.*, 1947, pp. 72–74).

(see previous section, p. 145). About 50 m. beyond the present main road it crossed the track that struck north from Falerii out of the posterns described above (p. 134).

For some distance out of Falerii the road to Corchiano continues smoothly in a north-westerly direction across gently undulating, heavily cultivated countryside. Few signs of its ancient origin meet the eye. Then, about 2 km. out, it drops to cross a shallow dip with an exiguous stream at the bottom; its descent is marked by a characteristic sunken trench, and beyond the stream on the right there are the remains of a small rustic necropolis. The road is now on the watershed between the tributaries of the river Treia and the southernmost of the streams that drain directly into the Tiber. It crosses at right angles the road running north-east from Falerii Novi towards the Via Flaminia (pp. 156–7) and then drops once more, to cross the Rio Crué at a shallow and easily fordable point. No trace of a bridge exists, but on the right a cavity in the ground indicates the presence of a simple grave. Between this crossing and the next obstacle, the Fosso delle Sorcelle, the road presents little of interest, though there are scattered traces of ancient habitation, as listed below.

840888 (approx.) A grave is said to have been found hereabouts, but no trace of it remained in 1955. Reports suggest a late Faliscan or early Roman period.

842886 A small, shapeless, bramble-covered structure, now standing about a metre high; evidently the concrete core of a small, apparently square Roman tomb. Brick and coarse tufa aggregate; traces of marble veneer.

857875 Remains of a small rustic cemetery with arched tomb-entrances, on the south side of the Piano di Tento, to the north-east of the stream-crossing. See also *Not. Scav.*, 1911, pp. 253–254, recording the discovery of a late Faliscan or early Roman tomb near this point.

The crossing of the Fosso delle Sorcelle is a fine example of Faliscan work. Before the high modern bridge was built the road swung right, leading down to a hard shelf in the stream, where it was easily fordable. But a little way upstream there are the remains of a yet earlier crossing. A deep cutting some 50 m. long may be seen in dense undergrowth, perfectly aligned with the stretch of road that brought the road down some way to the west of the modern bridge. Exactly opposite this trench is another similar one in the north bank, about 5–6 metres deep; how long this was is uncertain, since it disappears under the plough and has been filled in recently. Even in its imperfect state of preservation, this crossing illustrates well the resolute fashion in which the Faliscan roadmakers tackled these high-walled gullies; the road itself hardly changes course. There is some trace of a bridge, consisting of footings of ashlar masonry in tufa, though not of any considerable size; and some stray blocks of the local leucitic variety of lava indicate an attempt at some date to provide a more stable crossing. Further tombs are visible in the cliffs overhanging the stream, and some smaller graves of little consequence have been uncovered in tufa quarrying nearby. The Fosso delle Sorcelle has only recently been opened to cultivation, and it is comparatively rich in ancient remains.

835890 Some half-kilometre upstream, the valley broadens out into a small glade at the junction of two streams, where on either side the cliffs shelve gently down to the water. There is evidence of a small rustic settlement here. Both sides of the stream show numerous though not very spectacular rock-cut tombs, now much weathered, of the usual Faliscan type; they indicate the presence of a minor habitation or *vicus*. On the bank, to the left, a thin scatter of Roman material marks the site of a farmhouse: tile, brick, a few fragments of mortar and a few sherds of coarse rustic pottery. The presence of tombs at the confluence of two streams suggests that this was a suitable place for a road crossing. Traces of such a track can be seen in the scrub to the south; no engineering was called for, as there is a natural gentle descent on both sides. Some squared tufa blocks and stray blocks of *selce* possibly suggest a bridge, though its features are unrecognisable. This track may link up with the cutting across the Rio Crué at point 838876.

849894 About half a kilometre downstream in the other direction a second similar widening of the valley is seen; a track leading down may well be ancient; some cavities in the sides may just possibly be tombs, but their irregular shapes suggest otherwise.

851898 Nearly a kilometre to the east of the Corchiano road, a villa was unearthed about 25 years ago. Little now remains; a fragment of black and white mosaic of middling quality may mean a building of some pretension. There is a scatter of tile and brick, and the concrete of the ancient pavement may still be seen.

Across the stream the road broaches the next ridge; though the first stretch of the ancient road has vanished, there can be little doubt that the modern track follows its line substantially, since its level is frequently lower than that of the surrounding land. It is crossed after a while by the ridgeway track that runs up from Borghetto (p. 172) itself a deep and well-worn road; finally it descends to a crossing of Fosso delle Rote.

The stream here presents somewhat steeper sides; the ancient road sinks in a series of bends to a level somewhat lower than its modern successor, which has been carried over on a high bridge. On the northern bank, the older course makes a sweep to the left to gain height, before it is united again to the modern road. The independent tracts of ancient road have the familiar features: a deep-set and well-rutted road surface, and on the north bank relics of tombs. Further graves were found a little upstream, and we may infer another small settlement here. The old bridge, destroyed in 1952 to make room for its modern replacement, is reported to have contained ancient masonry in its piers. Leucitic lava blocks in the stream may have been used to strengthen the approaches. Some 50 m. downstream on the north bank, a cavity in the ground was recently exposed, consisting of a chamber with a further descending shaft, as though it was a well. Domestic refuse of Roman date had been thrown into it, chiefly coarse domestic pottery but including some small sherds of terra sigillata.

Approaching Corchiano and the Rio Fratta, further similar tracks may be seen converging upon the road, all of the same sunken variety and of some age. The next ravine, which is that of Corchiano itself, preserves one of the more spectacular examples of antique road-building. To descend to the floor of the valley, a precipice had to be negotiated involving a difference in height of some 30 m.; and this the road-builders achieved by means of a cutting, in places barely 2 m. wide, but as much as 15 m. deep at the deepest point (pl. XXVII, *c*). For most of its length it was driven straight down, as if to emerge at right angles from the cliff-face, but at the last minute it swings sharp left and slips unobtrusively out from behind a projecting bastion of rock, just above the bridge that carries the road across the stream and so up to the south-east gate of the ancient site of Corchiano (p 116.). The upper part of the cutting was originally cut on a straight line with the surviving central section, and the descent of this upper part was considerably steeper than it is now. At some later date it was decided to ease the gradient by carrying the road on sharp S-curve, which cuts across and has largely obliterated this part of the earlier line; and it was very probably on this same occasion that the road-surface throughout the cutting was widened and slightly deepened, giving it the somewhat concave profile that it now presents. Compared with the original work, however, these are minor alterations, and they in no way detract from the audacity of the original conception. Two details of this call for comment—the provision for draining the cutting and so avoiding the scour that has rendered the very similar cutting on the road from Corchiano to Gallese (p. 169) quite impassable; and the method of digging the cutting in a succession of working-levels. This method, which might give rise to the impression that this was originally designed as a tunnel rather than as an open trench, is discussed in a later section (p. 186).

Throughout its length this road betrays the usual features of a pre-Roman construction; the Roman elements are confined at most to the occasional scattered farmhouse. It may well have remained in use during Roman times. But neither Falerii Veteres nor Corchiano were significant Roman centres and we may confidently infer that, as a piece of engineering, this road was a Faliscan enterprise.

(*d*) *From Falerii Veteres to Gallese and the northern Ager Faliscus*

The traveller to the north had a choice of routes. To the north-west there was the road to Corchiano, described in the preceding section; to the north-east there was the road which, in Roman times and since, afforded a link with the Via Flaminia and the Tiber crossing north of Borghetto; and between these two there were several other roads, one or more of which connected Falerii Veteres with the other important centre of the northern Faliscan territory, Gallese. For the purpose of description it will be easier to take these roads in terms of their points of departure from the site of Falerii Veteres. One pair of roads, apparently of merely local importance, struck off together to the left of the modern road, about 2 km. north of Ponte Clementino. Two more important roads lay further east, climbing together up the slope to the north of the temple of Juno and dividing near the top, just below the hilltop of Montarano. Of these, one strikes off northwards across the line of the modern road, and may for a time have been the medieval route between Civita Castellana and Gallese; the other, keeping slightly to the east and merging eventually with the modern road about 4 km. out of the town, was the Roman road between the two centres.

Before describing these roads it will be well to mention the track which may be regarded as the predecessor of the stretch of modern road that lies immediately to the north of Ponte Clementino. This track picked up from the two tortuous paths across the ravine to the north of the city (p. 134) and followed a course roughly parallel with the modern road, but some 50 m. to the west of it. Once it emerges from the perimeter of the modern buildings it can be traced as a country lane lined by a hedge, looking old and derelict. Its antiquity is not decisively shown, however, until it crosses a small tributary gully of the Rio Maggiore, encircling the north side of the Poggio dei Cappuccini. Here, on either side, may be seen the footings of a small bridge, built of massive, rectangular blocks and certainly ancient. In 1956 a few pits could be seen on either side, where apparently graves had been exposed.

Beyond this point the left-hand one of the three roads to the north branches off to the left, and to the right it is lost under the modern road; it may well have continued beyond it to join the Roman road across Montarano from the south.

(*i*) *The left-hand pair of roads.* As in the case of other roads to the north the modern road leading north from the Ponte Clementino has obscured the ancient exit from Falerii, but the general line of the road under consideration seems to be that of the country lane which parts company with the modern road about 2 km. north of the bridge. The ancient traveller reached this point of departure either by the footpaths which threaded their way directly across the Rio Maggiore, or by taking the easier but slightly lengthier detour which crossed that stream at the temple of Juno, whence a route that is now little more than a footpath led up the north face of the Poggio dei Cappuccini to connect with it.

The first stretches of this road have long been cultivated and present little firm evidence of antiquity. Nor is there any indication of paving-stones. But near the Casale di Fontana Matuccia, at point 870878, there are a few Roman remains of indifferent quality—some broken tile and an exiguous scatter of building material and domestic debris, all that remains of some unpretentious farmhouse. A little further on, just before the lane is intercepted by the Roman road striking north-east from Falerii Novi, a group of graves is reported to have been found some few metres to the left.

The crossing of the Rio Crué produces no ancient features; and beyond this there seems to have been a choice of routes. One road may have continued in a generally north-westerly direction to a point about 1 km. north of the Fabrica-Borghetto road at kilo 9, where there is an old crossing of the Fosso delle Sorcelle (858897). Here a narrow, rock-cut road may be seen curving down to the stream, and a similar road mounts the other bank. Both roads are narrow, little more than a metre wide, nor is there any sign of a bridge. Just to the north of the crossing there are the relics of a Roman villa, and some poorish tombs may be seen on a bluff a few metres distant. This road probably connected with a similar crossing of the next stream, about 600 m. distant in the same north-westerly direction, and possibly, beyond it again, with the track that runs north and south, west of Casale Paciano (p. 176). Here (at 855902) a sharply descending minor road and a similar steep ascent on the other side follow a similar pattern; while the presence in the ravine of two rough platforms of squared tufa blocks indicates that at some time the attempt has been made at a rudimentary bridge. A short distance beyond, the line meets that of the ancient ridgeway track running up from the Tiber at Borghetto (p. 173). To judge from the surviving remains, this road can never have been much more than a mule-track, serving the local farms and offering an alternative route between Falerii Veteres and Corchiano.

The other possible road ran almost due north from the Rio Crué, crossing the Fosso delle Sorcelle near the so-called Fontana del Diavolo (867899). Here two steep and rather awkward paths carry the road down and up again on to the Piani di Luca on the other side. Apart from its lurid name, the Fontana itself is not without interest. It is a clear spring which emerges from the bottom of the cliff overhanging the stream; the water issues from a round-headed *cuniculus* of the usual shape, which has been carried back into the hillside in an attempt to regularise the flow. In Roman times an attempt seems to have been made to convert the spring into a reservoir: the mouth of the *cuniculus* was widened into a chamber and a concrete wall built across the channel to dam back the water, while the chamber itself was lined with *opus signinum*, of which some patches remain; and a long vertical shaft was cut, some 15 m. in depth, from the surface of the ground above down to the chamber, thus converting the spring into a well from which the water could be hauled directly to the surface. The spring is still used, though the well-shaft is blocked; the water supply has evidently been in great demand at all periods.

The antiquity of this second crossing-point, with its fine water-supply, can hardly be in doubt; but it can never have been more than a mule-track. In its present form it dates probably from the occupation of the fortified medieval site a little more than a kilometre to the north-east (p. 176).

851898	Remains of a Roman villa; see p. 148.
858898	Remains of a Roman building just north of the Fosso delle Sorcelle, including a cistern, blocks of tufa, and a scatter of fragmentary tile, brick, mortar, and one or two coarse sherds.
867900	A small cemetery of typical Faliscan rock-cut tombs with tile-sealed *loculi* on the northern slopes overlooking the crossing at Fontana del Diavolo.
870905	Roman villa unearthed during recent cultivation; all that can now be seen is a thin scatter of building material. A lead water-pipe from this site, now at Civita Castellana, in the offices of the Superintendency, bears the name of C. Faliscus Felix (information, Sig. Bracci).
876908	For the medieval castle at this point, see p. 176.

(*ii*) *The central road to the north.* The most important exit to the north was that which is still visible as a country lane, climbing up from the temple of Juno through a deep natural cutting called the Cava della Vigna Rosa. Blocks of leucitic lava in the ditch on either side show that it was once paved. At the narrowest point of the cutting an arched gateway, housing the wayside shrine of the Madonna dell' Appianata, attests the use of this road in the post-classical period, presumably as a short-cut to the Via Flaminia, which, in its medieval course, followed the line of the modern road up to the Fosso della Caduta, over a kilometre to the east.

Once past the gate the road arrives at the top of the height called Montarano, and divides. One road continues north-eastwards; another forks off towards the left. The line of the latter is marked by a cutting, now overgrown and impenetrable; it is replaced by a country lane, which makes a small detour to gain height and then reverts to the old line, running in a north-westerly course. The ancient road runs in a trench some three metres wide on the right of the modern lane, and in it abundant traces of the old paving are still to be seen in position. The paving is continued later in the line of a field boundary until it reaches the modern road running from the Ponte Clementino.

The subsequent course of this road is difficult to determine. It is possible that it continued in the modern country lane which here may be seen striking north; this is now nothing but an untended track and though it does occasionally assume the sunken features suggestive of antiquity, there is no trace of paving in it. Only where it negotiates the gentle banks of the Rio Crué at the spot known as the Passo del Rosario (300 m. north of the modern Fabrica-Borghetto road at kilo 10.5; point 874896) are there some squared tufa blocks, while on the opposite bank some Roman concrete lumps have been deposited, apparently ploughed up in the field beyond. After crossing the stream the track swings north-eastwards, obliquely across the plateau to the north of the Rio Crué, and drops into the Fosso Selva di Mezzo (known above this point as the Fosso delle Sorcelle, and below it as the Fosso di San Silvestro) just opposite the fortified medieval site described in a later section (p. 176). From this point onwards it can be followed as a woodland road, with well-built bridges of no great age, running along the bottom of the valley and eventually climbing up on to the plateau just to the west of the Faliscan site of Grotta Porciosa. Here it met the important ridgeway road leading westwards from Borghetto, and the ancient road southwards from Gallese.

In the latter part of its course, from the Rio Crué northwards, this road is almost certainly a post-classical creation. After the breakdown of the ancient crossing over the Fosso di San Silvestro (p. 154) it may perhaps have served for a time as a direct link between Civita Castellana and Gallese, but it can hardly have been the Roman road between these two points. The clear traces of Roman antiquity along the earlier part of its course must be explained in terms of some local need, the nature of which at present eludes us.

(*iii*) *The road to the north-east.* The first part of this road has been described in the immediately preceding section. At the fork on Montarano it carries straight on in a generally north-north-easterly direction. It can be seen moving imposingly in a sunken trench, with occasional paving-blocks in the sides at a slightly higher level; clearly the road has been in considerable use since ancient times. Passing beneath the railway line the road enters a spacious tree-lined cutting, to climb a small hill; the technique, with gently cut-back sides, is reminiscent of the Via Amerina rather than the narrower vertical cuts of the Faliscan builders, and once more paving stones are evident. Broaching the crest of the hill the road swings slightly left to cross a small stream at a broad and shallow crossing, immediately above the point where the stream breaks through its resistant bed of basalt and plunges over the spectacular waterfall from which the Fosso della Caduta gets its name. After this the modern track veers right, to skirt a field bounded by stone walling; the ancient road crossed direct, as is seen in the clear depression in the plough. Finally, rounding the head of another sharp little gully, it loses itself in the modern road. Since no indication exists of its continuing beyond it, it is probable that it here turned right to follow the modern road to the present Ponte Sassaci where it meets the present (and medieval) line of the Via Flaminia, heading up the Fosso della Caduta. There is no sign of the ancient bridge here.

877867 To the left of the road, on Montarano, on a site which commands a wide view to the south and east, there are traces of an extensive ruin, parts of which have been exposed in the cutting of the railway, which bisects it. It consists of a series of spacious tufa platforms belonging to a sizeable Roman villa. It appears to have been built on two levels: the lower platform is some 40 m. in width, and its structure is obscure, as it appears only as a raised area in the hillside. Beyond the railway a higher terrace is to be seen, some 5 m. high. This is a square structure, about 30 m. long and 10 m. wide, which itself backs on a third rather higher terrace, whose dimensions were considerably larger than the lower terraces and are now lost in the hillside. What remains is chiefly standing concrete walls from which the facing has largely perished; but some fragmentary walls to be seen on top of the upper terrace have areas of neat and mature *opus reticulatum*. The concrete aggregate is regular in size and consists only of tufa, with no brick. On the south side the wall of the second platform has collapsed to reveal the substructures. A series of vaulted galleries were almost certainly the water reservoir of the villa; the walls are thickly coated with waterproofing cement and to the sides terracotta pipes have been set into the walls discharging into the reservoir. A series of walls in square tufa blocks may have supplied underpinning for the upper walls of the villa. The date of the main structure is indicated as early Imperial by the use of pure *opus reticulatum* and the absence of brick. Traces of a restoration however are visible, especially on the north side, where there are some remains of a poorer and very friable concrete incorporating brick, suggesting a later or even medieval date.

To the north stands the serrated ruin of a medieval tower, which may represent the fortlet protecting an important road and commanding the approach to the crossing below. Near it is the imposing concrete core of a Roman tomb (pl. XXXVIII, *c*), presumably that of the villa, some 6 m. high. The courses in which the concrete was poured are clearly visible as layers about 70 cm. deep; the aggregate is of tufa and local *selce*. On the side facing the road a square tomb-chamber is visible, and on the opposite side a second one at a higher level. The facing of the tomb has vanished without trace. From the extant core we should infer a tomb in two stages, consisting of a high base with a surmounting edifice.

883875 On a small eminence to the left of the road, traces of another building of Imperial date: a thin scatter of brick and tile, white tesserae, and lumps of aggregate of leucitic lava. On the other side of the road a very faint scatter indicates another building.

884883 To the right of the road, a further scatter of Roman material, brick and tile, indicating a modest farmhouse.

886887 (approx.) Contrada Sassaci, an archaic chamber tomb; *Fasti Archaeologici*, vi, 2496.

Beyond the Ponte Sassaci, the road probably forked, the left-hand branch proceeding due northwards in the general direction of Gallese, the right-hand branch continuing north-eastwards to join the Via Flaminia. The latter line, which crosses open, featureless ground, is that both of the modern road and of its medieval predecessor, and all independent traces of antiquity have long since been erased. But that there was such a road in Roman times is inherently probable, particularly in that only a few hundred metres were needed to link it to the well-attested Roman road running north-eastwards up the watershed from Falerii Novi.

The left-hand branch has been destroyed by cultivation, but the blocks of its paving can be seen lying loose on the ground on a line heading for the ruined site of Casale Santa Maria (887896), which appears to be that of a small roadside settlement at the cross-roads between this road and the road heading north-eastwards from Falerii Novi. Immediately beyond this site, the line crosses the modern road from Fabrica to Borghetto (at kilo 11.9) and is marked by a further series of paving-blocks, which have been turned up in ploughing and deposited on the field-boundaries.

887896 The Roman site of Casale Santa Maria; studied, though never published by Mengarelli. There are many fragments of travertine, most of them small, but including the broken shaft of a column and a fragment of cornice. The Casale itself contains a certain amount of reused ancient material, and there is a scatter of building material (chiefly *selce* aggregate for concrete) over a wide area, suggesting that there were a number of distinct buildings. Mengarelli further noted lumps of brick masonry, tufa blocks, tile, and some domestic pottery, and concluded that this was a small wayside road-station. A scatter of blocks in the fields to the north and east are probably the remains of the paving of the road that ran east to join the Via Flaminia.

From Casale Santa Maria the approximate line of the road to the north is indicated by a country track, which strikes out in a north-westerly direction. This slight deviation brings the road to an easy crossing at the Rio Crué, just above the point where it plunges down to become the deep, cliff-bound gully of the Fosso Salerco. The course to this point is marked by a few scattered paving blocks and a scatter of Roman material to the left of the road. No trace of a formal crossing of the Rio Crué remains; but the banks of the stream here are gentle and the stream itself easily fordable at a number of points.

Once across the stream, the road appears to have rounded the head of a small re-entrant gully draining into the Rio Crué, then to have swung slightly east. Its line is now marked by a slight depression in the plough, but is much clearer in the air-photographs. Throughout its course over this plateau, now called the Piano di San Silvestro, recent heavy ploughing and harrowing have brought to light a wide scatter of Roman material to either side. Of the road itself nothing remains until it descends to the next stream, the Fosso di S. Silvestro. The approach on the south side (882912) is marked by an escarpment some 150 m. in length, and in the vegetation some paving blocks in local basalt may be seen. The road was carried over the Fosso di S. Silvestro by a bridge, of which the existing remains are of medieval date, and then pursued its northward course to Gallese (see p. 173). Throughout this section of the road sporadic evidence of paving may be seen scattered over nearby field boundaries, though it is uncertain whether the road was ever completely paved.

With the collapse of the bridge over the Fosso di San Silvestro and the establishment of a medieval castle a short distance upstream, this section of the road was diverted to a new line, a kilometre or so to the west. The latter continued until quite recent times to carry traffic as far as Grotta Porciosa and the Borghetto ridgeway, and so long as the Rio Fratta crossing was practicable, it would have been available for onward traffic to Gallese. The Rio Fratta must, however, have long been a serious obstacle to any but mule-back traffic, and medieval travellers may well have preferred the slightly longer, but much used and well maintained, route through Corchiano.

879904 To the left of the road and to the north of the Rio Crué, a wide scatter of domestic pottery and tile, including a brick stamp.

883910 Recently ploughed-out site of a large Roman farmhouse, as witnessed by an extensive scatter to either side of the country track at this point. Much fragmentary tile, tufa and basalt foundation blocks, travertine, veneer of Luna marble and fragments of a streaked grey marble; abundant sigillata and coarser domestic wares, some fragments of glass.

884898 On a small eminence to the west of the road after it leaves Casale Santa Maria, a thin scatter of tile and pottery, mostly coarser wares but some few sherds of sigillata and black-glazed ware.

885906 A heavily ploughed and dispersed scatter of tile, coarse pottery, and some red-glazed wares, to the east of the road shortly after its crossing of the Rio Crué. The remains of a modest farmhouse.

Recent ploughing and harrowing over this part of the Piano di San Silvestro have uncovered and dispersed much Roman material over a wide area; the precise location of further buildings is not possible.

(*e*) *From Falerii Veteres towards the East*

In pre-Roman and Roman times perhaps the most important connections of the Faliscan territory were those to the east, which brought the Ager Faliscus into economic contact with the Tiber valley and, in Roman times, with the Via Flaminia, which crossed the Treia 3 km. below Falerii Veteres.

A fuller study of these connections must be deferred to another occasion, but for the sake of completeness some of them may be mentioned here very briefly. From the crossing by the temple of Juno, it is tolerably clear that one road followed the Rio Maggiore and thence the left bank of the Treia to its junction with the Tiber. Unlike the precipitous gorges further upstream, the lower valleys of the Treia and some of the corresponding streams to the north (cf. the Fosso di Rustica below Gallese, p. 165) were broad, with well-drained gravel terraces, well suited for traffic. The Treia route was apparently already in use before Roman times. Another possible early route is that followed by the medieval Via Flaminia, forking left from the Roman Via Flaminia and following the crest of a long, narrow ridge to a point opposite Civita Castellana. It is not at all improbable that this route too had already been used in antiquity. Not only was the Treia easier to cross here, but the shrine of Juno must have been a constant focus; and beyond the Treia, in the strategically important Fosso della Caduta, the medieval fortress on Monte Lombrico stands on the site of a pre-Roman fortified settlement.

For the Treia road, see Pasqui, *Not. Scav.*, 1887, p. 93. Ashby saw the remains of an earlier road cut by the embankment of the Flaminia just north of the Treia crossing.

The Bronze Age site on Monte Lombrica is mentioned in Pasqui's notes, now preserved in the Villa Giulia Museum. It seems probable that the medieval and modern line of the Via Flaminia as it approaches Civita Castellana is following that of a *diverticulum* from the main Flaminia, and this in turn may have been based on a Faliscan road. See *Not. Scav.* 1887, p. 107; Tomassetti, iii, p. 352 ff.; Del Frate, p. 79.

V. ROADS RADIATING FROM FALERII NOVI

Falerii Novi (fig. 26), was established after the destruction of Falerii Veteres in 241, presumably to serve as an administrative centre for the newly subjected Ager Faliscus (see note appended to this section). The present article is not concerned with the town itself but with the road-system of which it became the centre. The Via Amerina, which passed straight through the middle of it, and the road from Falerii Veteres have already been described. In addition to these there are traces of at least three other paved roads leading from the city, and these will be briefly discussed in the section that follows.

Excavations undertaken within the walls of Falerii Novi in 1898 and published by Pasqui in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1903, pp. 14–19, revealed substantial traces of the internal street-plan. Unfortunately Pasqui did not include a plan on this occasion; and that subsequently published in *Studi Etruschi*, vol. i, 1927, pl. LXVII, *a* is almost illegible and is, in any case, quite clearly schematic in this respect. It does, however, seem to be established that the interior of the city was divided into four main quadrants by two axial streets, corresponding to the four main gates, the Via Amerina running straight through the city from south to north, and, at right angles to it, a street linking the destroyed east gate with the still-surviving west gate, the well-known 'Porta di Giove.' The only other street specifically mentioned in the report is one running obliquely across the north-east quadrant towards the gate at the north-east angle. It would seem that on this occasion no trace was found of any similar street serving the small gate at the north-west angle or either of the two secondary gates along the south side, the one near the south-west angle[43] and the other, the 'Porta del Bove,' leading down into the Fosso del Purgatorio, a short distance from the south-east angle. To judge from the surviving remains outside the walls, the three last-named gates may well have been of purely local significance.

---

[43] Dennis (i, p. 105) records a gate at this point; it can no longer be seen.

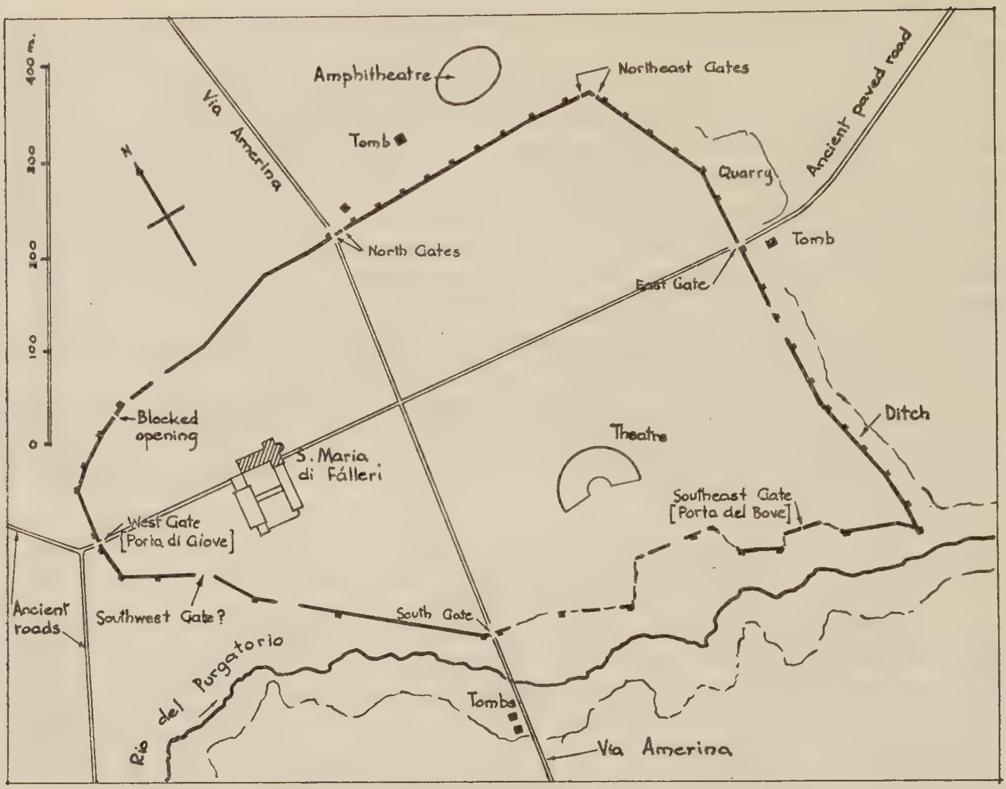


Fig. 26.—Falerii Novi (Santa Maria di Fálleri) (cf. plate XXVI)

(*a*) *The Via Amerina and Roads to Falerii Veteres*

For the Via Amerina at Falerii Novi, see p. 102; for the roads to Falerii Veteres and the shrine of Juno Curitis, and for the medieval road from Santa Maria di Fálleri to Civita Castellana, pp. 143–6.

(*b*) *From Falerii Novi to the North-east* (fig. 25, p. 137).

Substantial traces of a paved Roman road can still be seen striking off in a north-easterly direction from Falerii Novi, up the line of the watershed between the northernmost tributaries of the river Treia and the Rio Crué, the southernmost of the streams that drain directly into the Tiber to the north of the Treia. This is level, featureless country and the road was able to follow an almost direct line. Although a great deal more was visible sixty years ago, and much of it has recently been rooted up for cultivation, the general course of the road is still clear over almost its entire length.

The first few hundred metres have been completely eradicated. It presumably left Falerii Novi by the east gate, crossing the new road from Civita Castellana to Fabrica by the fourth kilometer stone, where the ancient line is visible on air photographs, and where a small group of tombs was discovered a few years ago. Beyond this point for nearly a kilometer all that can be seen are a few loose paving-blocks, strewn at the edge of the fields. Then, at point 840872, the line of the road becomes once more clear, with fragments of paving still in position and others heaped up nearby. It enters a cutting in the tufa, which extends for some 150 m. and attains a depth of 4 m., and on the right an inconspicuous group of chamber tombs has been exposed. Some way further on the road is joined and followed by a country lane, in which soil has been washed down on to the road surface, burying the pavement; its onward line, which continues to follow that of the lane, is marked by another small group of tombs of a similarly nondescript kind. As it approaches the crossing of the road from Falerii Veteres to Corchiano (p. 147), the pavement has been torn out, but at the actual crossing (853879) there are some loose blocks.

For a kilometer beyond this point the route is still visible to the practised eye, though once more the paving has been removed many years ago. It reappears as one approaches the crossing of the country road that leads north from Falerii Veteres towards the Fosso delle Sorcelle (p. 150). Just before this, on the right, there are remains of a small cemetery. For about a kilometer beyond, the relics of *selce* paving can be followed beside the modern track; much has been torn up, and much lies beneath the neighbouring fences and hedgerows, but the line is still reasonably clear. Then this peters out, and a stray block or two are all that now remain to show that it ran through to the small road-station of Casale Santa Maria (p. 153). Beyond this point the remains are equally scanty. It may be presumed to have continued on roughly the same line to join the Roman road that led north-eastwards from Falerii Veteres, which at this point is almost certainly running beneath the medieval and modern road (p. 153). The two would have continued together for about another kilometer, to join the ancient line of the Flaminia near the crest of the hill leading down to Borghetto.

83069	At kilo 4 on the modern road from Civita Castellana to Fabrica, a small group of square and conical chamber tombs, exposed a few years ago. Information from Sig. Bracci.
842872	On the right of the ancient road, a small group of rather featureless chamber tombs.
845873	A similar group of tombs.
865889	Small cemetery to the right of the road.
888896	Crossroad site of Casale S. Maria, see p. 153.

(*c*) *The Road to the North-west* (fig. 10, p. 98)

The internal street-plan of Falerii might be taken to suggest that a road ran westwards from the Porta di Giove, prolonging the line of the axial street within the city. The gently rolling ground to the west of the walls would be well suited to the passage of such a road, and Pasqui does in fact show one on his plan. Exhaustive search on the ground has, however, failed to reveal the slightest trace of a paved road along this line, and it may well be doubted whether there was ever anything here more substantial than a field-track. Instead, as the remains clearly show, the paved road forked immediately outside the gate, one road turning sharply north-westwards in the direction of Fabrica di Roma, the other bearing off to the left in the general direction of Sutri.

With the abandonment of Falerii Novi during the early Middle Ages in favour of Civita Castellana, the local pattern of communications radically changed. The road westwards from Civita Castellana towards Sutri now kept along the ridge to the south of the Rio del Purgatorio; and, as a result either of the enclosure of the city-site or of the collapse of the bridges along the Via Amerina, traffic from north to south, instead of passing through the town, was diverted to a new line just outside the walls to the west, where there was an easier natural crossing. The area within the walls became the exclusive property of the monks of Santa Maria di Fálleri, whose abbey-church lay just within the Porta di Giove. From this gate a track ran straight out to join the medieval road, replacing and obliterating the Roman fork. This is the line by which one now approaches the ruins of the church and the *casale* which occupies the conventual buildings; and although the opening-up of the Viterbo railway and of the modern road from Civita Castellana to Fabrica has once more altered the pattern, the medieval road is still used as a farm track, crossing the modern road to the north, to join the line of the Amerina at the crossing of the Fosso di Castellaccio (p. 108), just beneath the castle walls; in the other direction it continues southwards across the Rio del Purgatorio on a bridge which has been renewed in quite recent times.

Of the two Roman roads towards the west, the more northerly has now been completely ploughed out. Its line is, however, clearly visible in air photographs taken in 1943; and from it no doubt came the *selce* paving-blocks that one sees re-used in the medieval track and on both sides of the modern road. A short distance to the right of the point where the line of the ancient road crosses the present track there is a small Roman mausoleum and, a short way beyond it, the remains of an indeterminate building of the Imperial age, recently destroyed by cultivation. Some distance out from the town the line is still visible as a shallow depression, and then, about 700 m. from the Porta di Giove, it is overlaid by the modern road and the railway, which swing to the right, to pick up the line of the ancient road, and then run together for several kilometers in the direction of Fabrica. On this level, open ground all trace of the earlier road has been obliterated, but for some distance it presumably followed a line very similar to or identical with that of the modern road.

What was the destination of this road? To judge from the complete absence of scattered paving-blocks, it was probably unpaved outside the immediate environs of the city. There does not seem to be any authentic record of Roman discoveries *in situ* at Fabrica itself; the inscriptions preserved there or recorded as found within its territory may well all have come from Falerii Novi in the Middle Ages or later. There is, however, one certain record of an early road and tombs a short distance to the south-east of the town. Here, in 1888, a group of tombs was excavated on Poggio (now Monte) delle Monache, the prominent ridge running westwards from the modern road from Civita Castellana to Fabrica, immediately north of the Fosso di Castellaccio.[44] The tombs, small, square chambers, with *loculi* closed by tiles bearing Faliscan inscriptions, appear to have dated from the late fourth or third century B.C.; and below them Pasqui noted the cutting of an ancient road running in the direction of Santa Maria di Fálleri. Very similar tombs had already been found some distance to the north-west, at a point that is not more precisely described than as being about 3 km. north of Carbognano.[45] Already in late Faliscan times isolated groups of settlers had evidently pushed far into the forest, and one of the roads that they used was the ridgeway track across the Monte delle Monache. It was presumably such settlements that the road leading north-west from Falerii Novi was designed to serve. It replaced the earlier track from Falerii Veteres, via Ponte Terrano and the Fosso dei Tre Camini (pp. 143–4); and in the Middle Ages it was diverted to Fabrica.

---

[44] *Not. Scav.*, 1889, pp. 151–154.

[45] *Not. Scav.*, 1881, pp. 134–136.

817870 In recently ploughed ground just to the west of the track by which one reaches S. Maria di Fálleri from the modern road, bramble-covered remains of a Roman building, with foundations of *selce* concrete exposed. Much tile and triangular brick, including some recently ploughed-out lumps of masonry; fragments of dolia.

819869 Concrete core of a small Roman mausoleum (3·00 × 2·60 × surviving height, about 5m.); grey mortar with tufa aggregate. A few tufa blocks are incorporated in the core, which was faced with 58 cm. courses of squared blocks. From the chip-levels between the courses it is clear that the facing included built-in marble elements.

(*d*) *The Road to the South-west, towards Sutri* (fig. 10, p. 98)

The road that forked left immediately outside the Porta di Giove has been completely obliterated for some 200 m. beyond the gate, except for some odd blocks of *selce* that have rolled down hill. It must have crossed the head of the shallow gully used by the medieval track leading down to the stream-crossing, and just beyond this it can be picked up on the crest of the plateau overlooking the Rio del Purgatorio, running almost due east and west along the brow of the hill. The line is marked by a bank littered with *selce* blocks and at one point, caught up in the roots of a clump of trees near a farmhouse, a few blocks can still be seen in position. Beyond the farmhouse the surface traces are again lost, but the course of the road is clearly visible on air-photographs, swinging slightly southwards to drop into the valley of the Rio del Purgatorio by way of a rock-cut track, which is still in use. This track has been deepened and narrowed by long use, but its antiquity is attested by the presence of an extensive ancient cemetery, extending for 200–300 m. westwards along the north side of the valley. There is a similar but smaller cemetery on the south side, just before the road climbs out of the valley.

This was a natural crossing-point, just below the junction of the lowest of the three streams which together make up the Rio del Purgatorio. All trace of any bridge lies buried beneath the deep deposits of silt through which the stream now cuts a winding channel; but there are *selce* paving-blocks in the stream bed, and the line of the road is plainly visible where it winds up a natural break in the low cliffs that bound the valley on the south side. On reaching the crest it joins the ridgeway track from Civita Castellana. Here again, at the junction, there are many paving-blocks recently ploughed out, and a site yielding fine-quality black-glazed pottery, which may be as early as the third century B.C.

From this point westward there are no traces of a paved road; if the ridgeway track was ever paved, it has been very thoroughly robbed. Alternatively, it may well be that the ridgeway track is part of a far older road from Falerii Veteres to Sutri, and that the paving was limited to the section of paved road just described, linking Falerii Novi with the already-existing road system. In either case it is evident that from this point onwards the Roman road followed approximately the same line as the present-day ridgeway track between the Fosso della Badessa (the southernmost tributary of the Rio del Purgatorio) and the Rio Maggiore, past a strip of woodland (whose name, 'La Fornace' recalls the fact that here until modern times were the brick-kilns that supplied the whole neighbourhood) and dropping down to cross the Rio Maggiore beside the old estate water-mill of the Tenuta di Casale.

This too is a long-established natural crossing, still used by several country roads, which meet and cross at what was formerly a shallow, hard-bottomed ford, now replaced by a simple timber bridge. Just beyond the crossing the onward continuation of the ridgeway forks, the right-hand branch leading up to the old estate-centre, now known as the Casale Pazielli, and so on to join the modern road from Monterosi to Fabrica di Roma, the other bearing left up the southernmost of the two short tributary valleys which join the main valley just above the mill, to lose itself on the broad, cultivated plateau to the south. A third road comes from Carbognano, winding its way from north to south across a succession of shallow valleys and low ridges, to join the others just east of the ford. The last-named road may be no older than the Middle Ages, when the mill was under a *servitú* to Carbognano, an arrangement that was not finally broken until the first World War, enabling the mill to be put out of use and the mill-pond enlarged to serve a small electrical generating-plant. But although the road from the north may not be ancient, the site itself certainly had a long history before the Middle Ages. About 100 m. west of the crossing the road leading up to the Casale cuts through some foundations of uncertain date and a rich deposit of pottery, including large quantities of black-glazed wares. Above this, on the promontory of high ground between this side-valley and the main valley, there are traces of an old inhabited site, defended by a ditch cut across the narrow neck between the two lines of cliffs. The site is heavily overgrown, and it is perhaps rather more likely to have been an early medieval place of refuge than a pre-Roman settlement. There were, however, certainly Roman buildings near the crossing. The mill itself is very largely built of what appears to be Roman brick, and a Roman inscription was found nearby. These indications of Roman activity are presumably to be connected with the large Roman building that stood on the site of the Casale Pazielli, into the courtyard and outbuildings of which have been incorporated many fragments of its predecessor and from neighbouring sites. If, as seems not unlikely from the extant remains, this was the centre of a substantial Roman agricultural estate (cf. the large farmhouses at 781825 and 782818, p. 181), the mill too may well stand on the site of one established in Roman times.

Beyond this point the road enters what was still in Roman times heavily forested country. Its onward course towards Sutri will be discussed on some future occasion.

772859 (approx.). Roman inscription found many years ago in the Tenuta di Casale, on the plateau to the north of the Rio Maggiore and to the right of the modern road from Monterosi to Fabrica di Roma; now in the courtyard of the Casale Pazielli. Rectangular grave-slab of hard, grey-brown tufa (0.66 × 0.95 × 0.31), damaged at the top right hand corner and broken off below; inscribed in coarse rustic capitals within a rectangular recessed panel (0.49 × 0.32) with *ansae* cut in the lateral borders; red paint in the letters.

C. VETTIENVS (*vacat*)
(*vacat*) NEDYMVS.ET
VETTIENA.LIBAS
FECERVNT.SIBI.ET
LANTHANVSAE
FILIAE.V.ANN.XXII

The spaces at the end of the first line and beginning of the second line seem to have been left blank.

780851 Casale Pazielli. Massive rectangular *casale*, prominently sited on the neck of a narrow promontory overlooking the Rio Maggiore. The present structure goes back at least to 1496, the date of the fine frescoes preserved in the apse of the chapel. At one stage it belonged to Jean-Siffrein Maury, bishop of Montefiascone in 1792 and cardinal from 1794 to 1817, whose coat-of-arms (as cardinal) is preserved in the courtyard. Alterations carried out early in the present century revealed substantial remains of a large Roman house, said to have included a portico and *opus spicatum* paving. Objects preserved from this site or from elsewhere in the estate include:

(*a*) Various architectural elements, including a large marble column-base, part of a large fluted marble pilaster (both Italian marble), and several large fluted columns of tufa.
(*b*) A block of weathered Italian marble (0.64 × 0.64 × 0.34 m.), carved in low relief with a plain pilaster (width 0.34) and an Ionic capital.
(*c*) Two blocks of Italian marble (from a large mausoleum?) carved in low relief, one with a Medusa-head on a circular shield and a section of an angle pilaster (width 0.34 m.) carved with a vertical scroll, the other with the top of a similar pilaster and a Corinthian capital.
(*d*) A worn marble statuette.
(*e*) A slab of Italian marble with a *thyrsus* carved in a moulded panel on the narrow face.
(*f*) A small fragment of Italian marble with a *caduceus* in relief, found at Falerii Novi.
(*g*) A marble latrine seat.
(*h*) A Roman millstone.
(*i*) The large marble inscription recording part of the career of a municipal magistrate was not found locally; it was found a short distance to the north of Sutri.

786852 Small fortified site of uncertain date, on the tip of the same promontory as the Casale Pazielli, 600–700 m. to the east of it, overlooking the bridge and the mill. Now heavily overgrown, the only recognisable features being the ditch, deeply silted, and a number of caves cut in the rock near the point of the promontory. There is no indication that any of these chambers were ever tombs; they are more likely to be the cellars and storerooms of an inhabited site.

787851 Deposits of pottery, including much black-glazed ware, cut through by the road leading down from Casale Pazielli towards the mill, about 100 m. west of the bridge.

788852 (approx.). Altar-shaped moulded base of Italian marble, now in the courtyard of the Casale Pazielli (0.56 × 1.18 × 0.42). The top is gently convex, with simple rolls at either end. On the right side a patera, on the left a jug. Inscribed on the face within a moulded panel:

L.IVLIVS
L.IVLI.MERCATORIS
LIB.ANTIGONVS

This inscription was found towards the end of the last century 'nella tenuta in vocabulo Casale inserita in un muro moderno' (*Not. Scav.* 1898, p. 184). It appears to have been subsequently mislaid and was rediscovered by the present owner in 1916 when converting the old mill-pond into a small hydro-electric plant. The original find-spot was presumably in the immediate neighbourhood.

789852 Small group of houses and wayside shrine. Though not in itself a Roman building, the mill-house appears to be largely built of Roman bricks. It is said to have had two mill-wheels, one for corn and one for maize (one mill-stone is now in the Casale Pazielli) and there are two separate water-channels. The site is now occupied by a prosperous modern farm.

810862 Immediately beside the junction of the ridgeway-track and the paved road from Falerii Novi, up the slopes on the west side, much tile, recently ploughed out, and some good-quality black-glazed ware, probably third or second century B.C.

811864, 812864 In the rock face forming the southern edge of the Rio del Purgatorio, on the right-hand side of the line of the Roman road where it drops into the valley from the south, two small groups of tombs: (*a*) simple *loculi*, cut in the rock face; (*b*) similar *loculi*, also a deep shaft-cut tomb, recently robbed (fragments of plain amphorae).

810865–813865 In the corresponding rock-face on the opposite side of the valley, traces of a considerable cemetery. A few simple rock-cut tombs are still accessible; others are marked only by the dressed rock-faces above their deeply buried shafts.

819815 A few yards to the west of the modern bridge that crosses the Rio del Purgatorio almost due south of the Porta di Giove, there is the ford used by the medieval road that ran north and south just west of the walls of Falerii Novi. From it a deeply worn pack-trail winds up through the woods to join the ridgeway track along the crest. Near the modern bridge is the so-called 'catacomb of Santa Felicissima,' a chamber with arched tomb-recesses, hallowed by local tradition as the site of the saint's burial; Del Frate, p. 76. There are many other ancient tombs cut in the cliffs along the north side of the valley to the west of this crossing. A leet which leaves the main stream at this point suggests that there may have been a mill a short distance downstream, serving the abbey of S. Maria di Fálleri.

The status of Falerii Novi at the time of its foundation

The status of the Faliscans after their surrender in 241 B.C. is not explicitly stated in any literary source, but from other information the natural conclusion is that Rome made no attempt either at planting a colony or at incorporating the area, preferring to rely upon simple treaty. The evidence for this is as follows:

(i) Falerii is not mentioned as a colony in literary sources; the comparatively full account of Zonaras (8.18), although specifically recording the annexation of half its territory, makes no mention of any further loss of independence.
(ii) Like other confederate towns, Falerii Novi was administered by *IV viri* after the Social War.
(iii) Inscriptions in the Faliscan dialect have been found inside the walls of the new town itself, including two which mention a praetor (*CIE* 8340, 8343).

Presumably Rome used the *foedus iniquum*, which here as elsewhere guaranteed effective political control without diminishing formal independence. Thus the territory under direct Roman control extended only as far as the *claustra Etruriae*, Sutrium and Nepete (Beloch, pp. 609–610). That the Via Amerina itself passed through confederate territory is not in itself surprising, since the same applied to the Via Flaminia, constructed some twenty years later. It is perhaps more noteworthy that the new town was created at the same time. Although one cannot exclude the possibility that Falerii Novi superseded some earlier Faliscan settlement on the same spot, the city as it is known to us must have been contemporary with the Via Amerina (see p. 102) and shows in its axial lay-out and its walls unmistakable Roman inspiration. On the other hand, it is unlikely that Falerii Novi lay within the half of the Faliscan territory that was confiscated, since this probably lay somewhere to the east of Civita Castellana (see p. 131), and the town appears to have retained its allied status. The conclusion, that a town like Falerii Novi could be created on allied territory at Rome's dictation, is rather surprising. Rome's treaties, however, to conquered peoples were sometimes severe and contained clauses concerning the demolition of fortified centres (Liv. 26.16.7–10; App. *Iber.* 43–44). This had been the case with the earlier Falerii, and very probably with a number of other Faliscan fortified sites and castella that seem to have been abandoned at the same period. To such a policy the creation of a new urban centre was an essential complement. Despite the fact that the city after its completion remained confederate, it is clear that we have a Roman technique which is abundantly exemplified elsewhere—the abolition of an anarchic society of small strongholds and armed retainers, and the introduction of settled urban life. Falerii Novi, founded shortly after 241 B.C., is perhaps the earliest example that can be shown to be due to deliberate policy by Rome (cf. Kornemann, art. "oppidum," P–W, xviii, pp. 708–714; Nissen ii, pp. 7 ff.).

VI. ROADS IN THE NORTHERN AGER FALISCUS

Page
Gallese and its roads 163
The ridgeway track to the north of the Rio Fratta 169
Grotta Porciosa and the ridgeway track south of the Rio Fratta .. 171
The road-system of Corchiano 177

The northern part of the area covered by the present survey, between the modern roads from Fabrica di Roma to the Via Flaminia south of Borghetto and from Soriano through Gallese to the Tiber, is very similar in general character to the district that lies immediately to the south, around Civita Castellana and Nepi.

There is the same alternation of gently rolling upland, dropping uniformly towards the main Tiber valley, and of savage, rock-cut gorges, passable only where side-valleys or the outcropping of a harder stratum afford a natural passage. But whereas the *fossi* of the southern Faliscan territory, i.e. of the Treia basin, all converge on Civita Castellana and are tributaries of a single stream, to the north of the Treia, between Borghetto and Gallese, there are no fewer than four substantial streams all flowing roughly parallel, from west to east, and discharging into the Tiber independently. This northern territory is consequently divided into a series of long, narrow strips, running east and west and traversed principally by ridgeway tracks, many and perhaps most of which are of ancient origin. A great deal of this country is still inaccessible except on foot; and although the romantic desolation of Dennis's days is now a thing of the past and modern farms and farm-tracks are rapidly spreading over large parts of the area, there are other parts that are still remote and difficult to explore.

The section that follows is a record of antiquities noted within this area by the present writers and their companions during a series of visits made over the course of the last two years. The results, though manifestly fragmentary, have seemed worth recording, if only as a framework of reference for future discoveries within this neglected area, since they establish for certain the location of an important Faliscan site and of several contemporary roads, as well as a certain number of unrecorded antiquities of the Roman period.

(*a*) *Gallese and its Roads*

The medieval town of Gallese stands on an eminence overlooking the junction of the Rio Maggiore and the Fosso di Aliano (Fosso di Moccione), the two principal tributaries of the Fosso di Rustica (or Rio Maggiore), a substantial stream which flows into the Tiber about 4 km. above Borghetto. It lies on the extreme edge of the territory covered by the present survey and no attempt has been made by the writers to trace or to describe the antiquities of the town itself, or to examine the claims advanced on its behalf by an earlier generation of antiquaries.[46] Although there is now little to be seen that is obviously ancient, there was presumably some basis of observed fact for such claims; and not only is the site one that would have been ideally suited for ancient settlement, but it is also the natural centre of a system of trackways, some of which are undoubtedly ancient. Gallese is said to have been the seat of a bishopric as early as 465 (*T.C.I. Guida: Lazio*, 1935, p. 180); in the eighth century the *castrum Gallensium* was a military site of some importance (*Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, i, p. 420, *s.v.* Gregory IV, 731–741), and in the following century it was the birthplace of two short-lived popes, Marinus (882–4) and Romanus (897); *ibid.*, ii, pp. 224, 230. These facts, coupled with the scanty remains surviving within the town, are enough to justify the conclusion that the medieval town is the successor of a settlement going back to Roman, and very probably to Faliscan, times. To judge from the area available within the natural defences it can never have been of more than local importance.

---

[46] E.g. claiming that this was the site of *Fescennium* or of *Aequum Faliscum*; see Dennis, i, pp. 120–121.

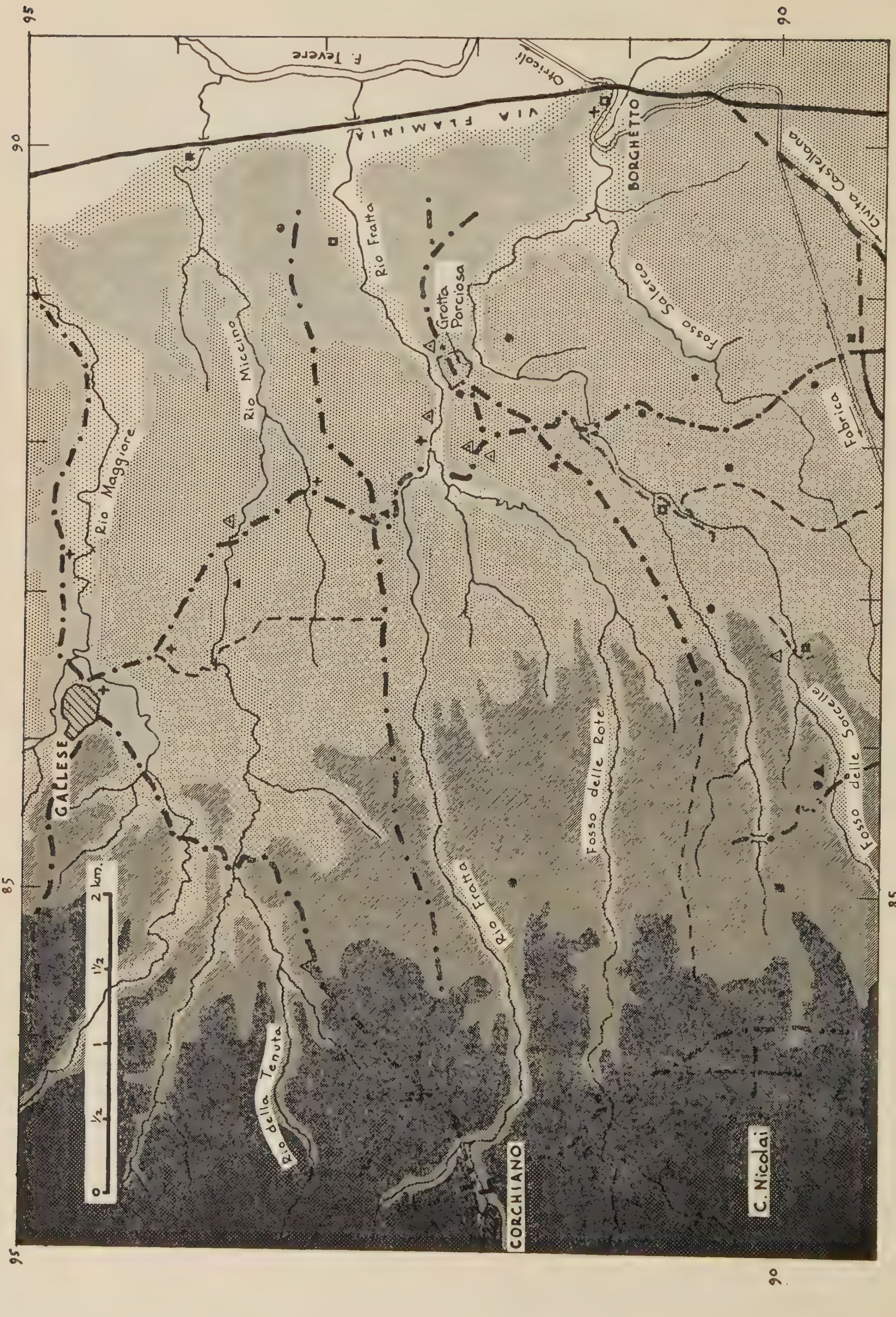


FIG. 27.—ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL ROADS IN THE NORTHERN AGER FALISCUS (for the conventions used, see fig. 2a)

Built into the walls of the courtyard of the Castello there is a substantial collection of lapidary fragments. Some of these were, no doubt, found locally, and they may well include the 'few Roman remains, fragments of columns, inscriptions and bas-reliefs' seen within the town by Dennis (i, p. 120). The villa is, however, provided also with an ample series of portrait-busts of Roman emperors and other mock-antiques in the sixteenth-century manner, and without further enquiry it would be unwise to disregard the possibility that some substantial part of the lapidary collection may have been brought from the capital; this would explain the otherwise rather surprising quality of some of the decorative fragments. Among the pieces that are most likely to be of local origin are some fragments of coarse white mosaic; the central block of a large marble acanthus frieze (from a mausoleum?); and two small inscriptions. Other pieces include the shell-medallion from the centre of a third-century sarcophagus, with busts of a man and wife; a fragment of a plain medallion upheld by *putti*, from a similar sarcophagus; a marble relief of a Siren; a pair of small fountain-figures in the form of Venus holding a pierced scallop-shell; and a number of architectural fragments.

Except for this collection, the only classical pieces noted within the town are a column of Elba granite 3½ m. high, a small column of Proconnesian marble, and the upper part of a small figure, very worn, wearing a short cape, probably from a sarcophagus.

(*i*) *The road up the Fosso di Rustica to Gallese and the ridgeway track leading westward from Gallese* (figs. 19, p. 119; 27). In Roman times the principal road within the area was one that ran up the valley of the Fosso di Rustica as far as Gallese, where it climbed on to the higher ground and continued westward as a ridgeway track in the direction of the inhabited sites of Soriano and Bomarzo. It is very likely that a track followed this obvious natural line already in prehistoric times, but, if so, it acquired fresh importance when the laying out of the Via Flaminia involved the building of a bridge across the Tiber almost exactly opposite the mouth of the Fosso di Rustica.[47] Even after the destruction of the bridge in the Middle Ages, an important ferry was maintained on the same site, and it was not until the building of the Ponte Felice, begun by Sixtus V in 1589 and finished under Clement VIII in 1603, that the crossing moved downstream to Borghetto and that the Gallese-Soriano road lapsed once more into purely local importance. It is still the only through road from east to west for a long way north of Civita Castellana and the Fabrica-Borghetto road.

Unlike the majority of the roads in the Ager Faliscus, which as far as possible keep to high ground, the ancient road up the Fosso di Rustica almost certainly followed the line of its medieval successor along the valley-bottom. As in the case of the Treia below Civita Castellana, the valley is here broad and open, with wide, level gravel terraces (these continue to be found for at least a kilometre above Gallese) and the flat, well-drained meadows to the north of the stream offer an easy and obvious route. Above Gallese the valleys narrow and become precipitous, and the road accordingly climbs to higher ground, to follow the watershed between the Fosso di Aliano on the north and, on the south, the Rio Maggiore and its tributaries. Its course is marked by a series of Roman sites, crossing the Via Amerina just west of a prominent farmhouse, La Casaccia (819970), and continuing westwards towards Soriano and so round the north-eastern flank of Monte Cimino. There are no indications that this road was ever paved.

---

[47] For the Roman bridge (the last traces of which were destroyed in 1896), the ferry on the same site, and the Ponte Felice, see Ashby and Fell, p. 162; also Martinori, *Via Flaminia*, pp. 90–91.

819970 La Casaccia, prominent farmhouse about 100 m. north of the road at kilo 4.5, on the site of a substantial Roman building; it stands on the brow of the Fosso di Aliano, with fine views in all directions. The only surviving structure is a concrete cistern, with two intact barrel-vaulted chambers, each 15 m. × 1.85 m., placed side by side, with five arches in the intervening wall. Lying about are blocks of tufa and travertine, many tiles, coarse black tesserae, and part of a millstone. Pottery includes terra sigillata and coarse wares.

827963 In a ploughed field, 100 m. north of the road at kilo 5.6, on the brow of the Fosso di Aliano. The remains of a Roman concrete cistern, measuring about 21 × 3 m. internally. Of the building that it served nothing can now be seen except the overgrown terrace-wall running east and west along the crest. The very few sherds visible in the plough are all of indeterminate coarse ware.

834956 By the roadside at kilo 6.5, half of a Roman millstone.

844950 In an olive grove immediately to the north of the road at kilo 7.8, remains of a group of Roman buildings:

- (*a*) A barrel-vaulted structure, 6.60 × 3.40 m. internally, of tufa concrete with, at one point, remains of a facing of small tufa blocks; the vault springs from a levelling-course of tile (pl. XLII, *c*).
- (*b*) A long terrace-wall running north and south, of similar masonry.
- (*c*) Core of a mausoleum in tufa concrete (approx. 8 × 4 m.); it was faced in *opus quadratum* (tufa?), and an irregular hole in the north face presumably marks the site of a tomb-chamber.

The very little pottery from the site includes a sherd of polished red ware and a fragment of a late Roman lamp; also Roman glass.

873947 Ruined medieval chapel of San Giacomo, 1 km. to the east of Gallese and about 100 m. south of the road, on a level gravel terrace overlooking the Fosso di Rustica immediately west of a small but deeply eroded tributary stream, the Fosso Cupo. At this point there are traces of three successive road-crossings: the present road; its immediate predecessor, a broad cutting a few yards to the south of it; and, southwards again, a narrower, deeper cutting winding down to cross the stream by an old bridge, overgrown but still in place. The chapel overlooks this bridge. It is a simple rectangular structure with a single projecting apse, built of coursed tufa masonry and now roofless. There is a single slit-window in the apse, single windows in the two long sides and the gable, and a plain west door with a lunette over it; there was originally a porch against the facade. The interior was redecorated in the seventeenth century.

Radiating southwards from Gallese there are a number of long-established roads and tracks, some of which are in whole or part certainly ancient. Two in particular merit detailed description, one of them leading south-eastwards towards the Faliscan site of Grotta Porciosa and eventually on to Falerii Veteres, the other south-westwards towards Corchiano.

(*ii*) *The road to Grotta Porciosa and Falerii Veteres* (fig. 27, p. 164). The south-eastern road crosses the Rio Maggiore just below the medieval church of San Famiano, and climbs straight up the gravel-covered slopes of a shallow re-entrant loop of the main valley towards the chapel of the Madonna del Riposo; immediately below the chapel and the ruined buildings adjoining it, the road forks, passing on either side of it, and it is from these two roads that all the tracks toward the south radiate. The ascent from the valley is heavily scarped into the gravel-covered slopes, and the deep cutting of the fork at the crest betokens long use, but the only tangible trace of antiquity is a drainage *cuniculus*, now disused, on the right of the road a short way below the crest (pl. XLII, *a*).

The right-hand road forks and forks again. One well-established track runs westwards along the ridge, to cross the Gallese-Corchiano road at the saddle between the Rio Maggiore and the Rio Miccino (p. 168); the line is an obvious one, but there are no signs of antiquity along it. Another forks left and left again, across the Rio

Miccino, eventually joining the main ridgeway track just north of the Rio Fratta at about point 868926. This is certainly an old, though not necessarily an ancient, road with the remains of an earlier bridge and cuttings at the Miccino crossing. The most securely attested ancient road, however, is that which takes the left-hand fork at the Madonna del Riposo. Here for a while it is diverted from its ancient line by the estate of an important old *casale*, La Piccionara, and the line, visible in air photographs, is not picked up again on the ground until the crossing of the Rio Miccino nearly a kilometre to the south-east. The stream is here flowing down an open valley with gently shelving, rocky banks, and, although the bridge is modern, there are several older tracks visible fording the stream; and overlooking the crossing, just to the east on the north bank, is a small ancient cemetery of rock-cut tombs.

From the Miccino crossing onwards the road, though sunken, is otherwise featureless for some distance. After crossing the Fosso San Famiano, a small tributary of the Rio Miccino which derives its name from a little disused chapel on the south bank, the present track swings eastwards and, after a few hundred metres, joins the main ridgeway road. Cultivation has obliterated the line of the ancient road that continued southwards across the plateau towards the Rio Fratta. It may have followed a line slightly east of south to the edge of the Fratta, where a shallow natural gully gives access to a fairly easy way down the steep lower slopes; at this point there is a large ancient cemetery strung out on a terrace just below the crest, looking straight across the gorge to the walls of Grotta Porciosa on the opposite side. Alternatively the ancient road may have borne slightly west, heading for the modern farmhouse, Casale Santa Lucia (I), which is built on the lip of a fine road-cutting, 2 m. wide and in places upwards of 7 m. deep, which strikes straight down through the cliffs and then swings left down the lower slopes, heading for the junction of the Rio Fratta and the Fosso delle Rote; just to the east of the cutting, on the cliff-edge, there is a solitary rock-cut tomb. Of the two possible routes, the latter, with its elaborate artificial cutting, seems the more likely. In either case the actual river crossing must have lain well downstream, below the junction of the three streams that meet at this point; very possibly some 300–400 m. below, which is the present upper limit for easy fording.

On the far bank the line of the ancient road can be picked up once more, heading obliquely up the far slopes towards the gully, partly natural and partly artificial, by which it climbed on to the plateau south of the Rio Fratta and its principal tributary, the Fosso dell Rote, about 500 m. west of the walls of Grotta Porciosa. This stretch of the road will be described in a later section (p. 173); its onward continuation towards Falerii Veteres is discussed in Section IV, pp. 152–4.

866941	Church of the Madonna del Riposo and ruined conventual (?) buildings on the crest of the ridge to the south-east of Gallese. The present church is very plain, probably of sixteenth-century date.
871936	Single rock-cut chamber-tomb overlooking the Rio Miccino about 300 m. west of the road-crossing.
874936	Small cemetery cut into a projecting rocky spur overlooking the Miccino crossing, on the north bank just to the east of the road. The principal tombs, which have been reused for agricultural purposes, are grouped about a large rectangular courtyard, possibly an adapted quarry.
875926	Single chamber-tomb cut into the brow of the cliffs overlooking the Rio Fratta, some 30 m. east of the ancient road-cutting of Casale Santa Lucia (I).
877931	Chapel of San Famiano, a small featureless building of indeterminate date.

880925 The prominent ruins on the cliffs overlooking the junction of the Rio Fratta and the Fosso delle Rote are those of the chapel of S. Lucia (or possibly a farmhouse of the same name) which gave its name to this whole section of the plateau; see military map, edition of 1897. The visible remains do not appear to be of any great antiquity. For a group of inscribed Faliscan tiles found nearby, see p. 171.

880924 (approx.) and eastwards for 300–400 m. Extensive cemetery of rock-cut tombs excavated in the rear wall of a broad, curving terrace just below the brow of the cliffs overlooking the Rio Fratta opposite Grotta Porciosa. The few tombs that have been cleared are now choked with brambles; so far as can now be determined, they seem mainly to have been of the very simple type with a narrow shaft and plain, deeply-buried tomb-chamber. Any architectural features that there may have been at surface-level have now disappeared. At this point a fairly easy path leads down to the valley bottom, and so across and up by a winding route to the Faliscan site of Grotta Porciosa, of which this is clearly one of the cemeteries.

(*iii*) *The road to Corchiano* (fig. 27, p. 164). There is one other road leading southwards from Gallese that is almost certainly ancient, and that is the track towards Corchiano, 4 km. distant to the south-west. This must have followed very closely the line of the medieval road between the two places. For about a kilometre from Gallese it keeps to the low ground, across the meadows to the south-west of the town (pl. XLII, *b*), past the old water-mill sited in a neck of the Rio Maggiore valley (855941), across another patch of meadow-land, left across the river by a modern bridge, and so up to the narrow saddle which is all that separates the drainage-system of the Rio Maggiore from that of the Rio Miccino, the next major stream to the south. The unfamiliar gravel contours help to obscure the fact that this saddle is to a considerable extent an artificial cutting. Today no less than six tracks meet at this spot, and it must always have been a focal point in the network of local communications. Just to the north of it, on the north bank of the Rio Maggiore, yet another road forks off to the right and can be seen climbing up the cliff, past the Grotte Nassi, to the plateau above; but there do not seem to be any certain traces of antiquity either along this rock-cut road or along the present ridgeway track between the Rio Maggiore and the Rio Miccino, the largest of the tracks which meet the Gallese-Corchiano road on the saddle itself.

Beyond the crest of the rise the road drops into the valley of the Rio Miccino, turns sharp left across the stream on a modern bridge, and winds up to the plateau beyond. Along this stretch it is still used by heavy farm-traffic, and across the open ground all separate trace of the old road has been obliterated by centuries of continuous use. Only at two points are there clear signs of antiquity: immediately after crossing the Rio Miccino, where the old road can be traced for some distance as a cutting, 2 m. wide, following a steeper and more direct line to the crest; and about half way between the Rio Miccino and the next major landmark, the church of the Madonna delle Grazie, where there is a small cemetery of poor chamber-tombs cut into a low rocky knoll just beside the present road.

The Madonna delle Grazie is a large, barn-like, seventeenth-century church, now rapidly falling into ruin, which stands at the crossing of the Gallese-Corchiano road and the important ridgeway track described in the next section (p. 170). From here onwards the road is impracticable for wheeled traffic. For some 300–400 m. it crosses open ground, deeply rutted by the feet of generations of pack-animals treading the exposed tufa, and then makes a wide zig-zag, left and then right, down the precipitous cliff-face of the Rio Fratta, to reach the valley-bottom immediately below the ancient site of Corchiano, at the junction of the Rio Fratta and its tributary the Fosso delle Pastine; it crosses the latter by a modern footbridge, and after following the main valley-bottom for a short distance, it climbs a side-valley to enter the village of Corchiano. This is the present track, which is itself of some considerable age. The ancient road took a more direct course, dropping sharply down into the Rio Fratta by means of a trench, barely 2 m. wide and very deep, cut out of the living rock behind the cliff-face and winding down on a sweeping S-curve; it crosses the present track a short distance below the footbridge and is lost in the bed of the Rio Fratta, which has evidently cut more widely at this point than it did in antiquity. In plan the cutting through the cliffs very closely resembles that by which the road from Civita Castellana drops down to the Rio Fratta a few hundred metres to the west (p. 148), and the reason for its abandonment was probably, therefore, not so much its steepness, as the failure of its drainage-system; after rain the cutting becomes a rushing stream, which has scoured deep channels in the road surface and made it almost impassable even on foot. In the case of the cutting on the Civita Castellana road the drainage-system has been maintained, and the road is still in active and efficient use.

837923 The church of the Madonna delle Grazie, at the crossing of the Gallese-Corchiano road and the ancient ridgeway track along the plateau to the north of the Rio Fratta (pl. XXVIII, *d*). A large, very plain structure with open timber roof. The only visible indication of date is one painted in crude lettering within a small cartouche, part of an elaborate painted-stucco altar against the left-hand wall: *In honorem divi Franc(isc)i d(ominus) cap(ellanus) Laurent(iu)s Constant(iu)s aere p(ro)p(osit)o hoc erexit ornavit et dotavit A.D.* 1681.

839929 About 500 m. north-north-east of the Madonna delle Grazie, exposed in section on the crest of the low tufa cliffs overlooking from the north-west a broad, shallow, tributary valley of the Rio Miccino, the remains of an ancient structure in *opus quadratum.* Below, in the cliffs and in the boulders fallen from the cliffs, are a number of rectangular recesses, averaging 60–65 cm. high and 23–25 cm. wide, mostly with a narrow recessed border, as if for a frame or shutter. At first sight these features suggest a rustic sanctuary, with niches for votive offerings. A more prosaic alternative is that it was an apiary, with recesses for the characteristic churn-shaped wooden bee-hives.

846930 Immediately to the north of the road, in an orchard, the remains of a small cemetery of simple chamber-tombs, cut into the edge of a low, rocky outcrop. The best-preserved of these tombs is square, about 2.50 × 2.50 m., with a flat roof and three groups of three superimposed *loculi.*

(*b*) *The Ridgeway Track to the North of the Rio Fratta* (fig. 27, p. 164)

Of the gorges that run from west to east across this northern part of the area under consideration, the most formidable is undoubtedly the Rio Fratta. Along the greater part of the stretch between Corchiano and the Tiber there is hardly a break in the line of the sheer tufa cliffs; to the north of it the drainage is almost entirely northwards, towards the Rio Miccino, here an altogether more gentle stream flowing through a rolling, cultivated landscape. These facts have inevitably determined the pattern both of settlement and of communications. The whole area is readily accessible from the north, and within a radius of some 2 km. southwards from Gallese there are large tracts of long-established cultivation. On the other hand, as the complicated network of tracks visible on the map clearly shows, this was broken country, such as would never have been used by through traffic from east to west had there been any convenient alternative. It is only on the extreme southern edge of the area, along the watershed overlooking the Rio Fratta, that there is open, level ground; and it is along this ridge that there runs a track which, although as yet very imperfectly explored, must almost certainly go back to the earliest stages of settlement within the Ager Faliscus.

For a considerable part of its length this track is now confined by cultivation. Elsewhere, across open ground (e.g. at the east end, shortly after leaving the Tiber valley, or again where it approaches the Gallese-Corchiano road), it consists rather of a series of tracks spread over a broad strip of ground, none of them individually recognisable as ancient, but together affording evidence of long and busy use. In the absence of any specific evidence to the contrary the line shown in figs. 27 and 29 is that of the present track, which leaves the Tiber valley at kilo 13 on the modern road, just north of the remains of the Roman bridge over the Rio Fratta, and winds its way round the Casale Marini (the old road here followed a steeper and more direct course up the low cliffs that bound the plateau) up on to the higher ground. For some distance it has to keep well to the north so as to skirt the head of a short tributary valley; but to the west of this the watershed shifts decisively to the southern edge of the plateau, as described in the previous paragraph, and for over 3 km. the road is never more than 300 m. from the cliffs of the Rio Fratta. Not until about a kilometre short of the Gallese-Corchiano road does the watershed, and with it the main ridgeway track, bear off once more to the right; and at this point a well established mule-track forks off to the left, to join the Corchiano road at the head of the ancient cutting leading down into the Rio Fratta. The main track crosses the Gallese-Corchiano road at the Madonna delle Grazie (p. 169; pl. XXVIII, *d*) and continues its way up the ridge between the Rio della Tenuta (the principal headwater tributary of the Rio Miccino) and the Fosso delle Pastine (the tributary of the Rio Fratta that flows past the north side of the ancient site of Corchiano). About 1500 m. beyond the crossroads it passes the ancient settlement of Ponte del Ponte (p. 123), and after another half-kilometre it joins the Via Amerina about 400 m. north of the Casale Sciardiglia.

823933 For the ancient settlement, cemetery and aqueduct of the Ponte del Ponte, see p. 123.

837923 For the church of the Madonna delle Grazie, see p. 169.

868926 Approximate junction with an old, though not necessarily ancient road from Gallese; see p. 167.

875926 Junction with a deep ancient cutting, leading down through the cliffs into the valley of the Rio Fratta. This was the only practicable way down into the valley for more than a kilometre to the east and for at least 3 km. to the west, and it presumably carried the ancient road from Gallese to Grotta Porciosa; see p. 167.

880924 Extensive cemetery of rock-cut tombs, spreading 300–400 m. along the brow of the cliffs overlooking the Rio Fratta opposite the ancient site of Grotta Porciosa; for this site and its cemeteries, see pp. 171–6.

893929 Fortified medieval site, La Torricella, on an isolated hillock (spot height 91 m.) between the Rio Fratta and the small northern tributary which takes its name from the site. The hillock has sheer rock sides and no apparent entrance. Along the northern edge there is a substantial section of defensive wall still standing, about 6 m. long and 6 m. high by 1.30 m. thick; it is of mortared rubble masonry with a facing of tufa blocks, laid in regular courses 30 cm. high.

Cut into the rock faces of the hillock itself and of the adjoining *fosso* are a number of chambers, which have been used as habitations, stables, etc.; and there is a great deal of domestic pottery scattered down the slopes to the south of the main site. There is no indication that any of the rock-cut chambers are of ancient origin. This was evidently a small medieval fortified site, around which, as was customary, were grouped a number of simple habitations and dependencies. Two old tracks pass close beside it, leading from the ridgeway road down into the valley, the one dropping down the Fosso della Torricella in the direction of Casale Marini, the other passing to the west of the site and heading for a natural ford (at 891928), which is still in use.

895934 Remains of a Roman habitation site about 100 m. to the north of a ridgeway road, on the low, open plateau overlooking the Tiber Valley. A few large tufa blocks, tiles, sherds, and two small fragments of millstone.

CIE 8401–8410 records a group of inscribed tiles 'in regione S. Lucia secundum viam detecta.' These must be from the *loculi* of a pre-Roman tomb, and the road in question is probably the ridgeway track, the principal road within the S. Lucia estate, which occupied the stretch of the plateau to the north of the Rio Fratta that lies directly opposite Grotta Porciosa.

(*c*) *Grotta Porciosa and the Ridgeway Track to the South of the Rio Fratta* (figs. 27, p. 164; 28)

Until it fell, about ten years ago, the lofty tower of the medieval castle of Borghetto was one of the principal medieval landmarks of the whole region. The site had been one of considerable local importance long before the completion of the Ponte Felice in 1603 gave it fresh importance as a watchtower over the first major Tiber crossing north of Rome. Not only did the Via Flaminia pass directly beneath its walls, but it also controlled the end of a ridgeway track which goes back to pre-Roman times, and which has remained in active use ever since. This track, which followed the watershed between the systems of the Rio Fratta and the Fosso Salerco, connected the Tiber valley with the ancient road from Falerii Veteres to Corchiano, which it joined about 2 km. south-east of the latter site. Whether it also continued westwards is doubtful.

The medieval site of Borghetto consists of three principal features: the castle itself on the extreme point of the promontory (an unusual situation, which emphasises its strategic rather than purely defensive purpose); above the castle, divided from it by a wide ditch and separately walled, a fortified townlet, of which all that now remain standing are the walls themselves and the chapel; and, extending a considerable distance up the promontory, the scattered remains of outlying buildings, now little more than low, grass-grown mounds beside the old road. Except where it is has been diverted by recent quarrying, the latter followed very much the line of the present farm-road, which climbs the southern edge of the plateau just to the west of the castle, and continues in a north-westerly direction across the open fields towards the narrows at the western end of the Piano di Lucciano. The ancient road probably left the Tiber some way to the north (see below) running almost due west towards the same point.

Except for a few hundred metres at Borghetto itself, the southern boundary of the ridgeway plateau is the valley, not of the Fosso di Salerco itself, but of its principal tributary, the Fosso di San Silvestro (or della Chiesola). This is a considerable stream, running in a deep, precipitous gorge, and for the greater part of its length it runs parallel with and between 500 and 800 m. distant from the Rio Fratta and its southern tributary, the Fosso delle Rote. About 2 km. west of Borghetto, however, it suddenly swings north on a wide curve, and for a short distance its northern cliffs are little more than 100 m. from the southern cliffs of the Rio Fratta.

Here was a natural defile, through which any track had to pass; and here, set squarely across the track from cliff to cliff, are the remains of the important Faliscan settlement of Grotta Porciosa.[48]

The site (pl. XLIII; fig. 28) is unusual in that on two of its four sides it had to rely solely on artificial defences; there can be little doubt that it was founded with the express purpose of controlling the ridgeway road. It occupies an irregular-shaped area, some 200 m. from east to west by 150 m. from north to south, defended on the north by the sheer cliffs of the Rio Fratta, on the east and west by a wall and ditch, and along part at any rate of the south side (where the natural defences are not so steep as on the north) by a wall running along the crest of the slope. There were two gates, through which ran the ridgeway track. In the interior, which is cultivated, there are no surviving structures; but large quantities of sherds attest active settlement. In a group of several hundred sherds collected on the surface, the distinctive fabric that predominates is local black-glazed ware. There is a small amount of terra sigillata and red polished ware, which may perhaps be connected with the villa at the cross-roads to the west of the site. There is little or nothing that is recognisably early. This may mean no more than that the deepest levels are still intact. Alternatively (and the strategic rather than defensive location of the site supports this possibility) it may in fact be a foundation of the quite late pre-Roman period.

At some date since antiquity, but well before modern times, the track has been displaced southwards, breaking two fresh openings through the ramparts. This displacement, no doubt the result of excessive wear of the unpaved road-surface, makes it possible to identify the exact course of the ancient road, both in air photographs and on the ground, and it reveals that Grotta Porciosa was the centre of a considerable system of Faliscan trackways.

The road to the Tiber valley struck off well to the north of the present ridgeway track to Borghetto and can be seen on air photographs heading for the valley that drops through the low cliffs above the Tiber plain about 500 m. south of the Rio Fratta. To judge from the air photographs the old east gate had already gone out of use when the line of the present track was established, presumably as a result of the founding of Borghetto.

Outside the west gate there was a choice of two roads. The main ridgeway track kept left, following the same general line as, though nowhere exactly coincident with, the present road. A modern farmhouse 500 m. south-west of the west gate (built since the air photograph, pl. XLIII, was taken) marks the crossing of the ancient cross-country track from Gallese to Falerii Veteres. Just before the crossroads the ancient line of the ridgeway track can be seen as a cutting in the rock, nearly 200 m. long, just to the right of the present road. Beyond the crossroads the old line is no longer visible on the ground, but it can be seen clearly on the air photograph, this time to the left of the modern road, passing close beside the prominent Roman mausoleum that has given its name, Torre di Grotta Porciosa, to the whole estate. Its onward course presumably continued to coincide approximately with that of the present ridgeway track as far as its junction with the ancient road from Falerii Veteres to Corchiano rather less than 2 kilometres short of the latter site. Near

---

[48] For the name, see below.

Casale Paciano (852909) this track runs in a hollow way that is certainly of long standing and may well mark the ancient line, but otherwise there do not seem to be any superficial traces of antiquity along this stretch. Just to the west of the Casale a smaller track or path, led northwards, across the Fosso di Fustignano (the upper course of the Fosso delle Rote). A tomb beside this path on the north bank may well be the find-spot of the inscribed Faliscan tiles in *CIE* 8598–9.

The other road from the west gate swung right, through a short rock-cutting, and joined the Gallese road at the head of the gully by which the latter winds down into the valley of the Fosso delle Rote, and so down to the Rio Fratta crossing. This gully, which is partly natural and partly artificial, made skilful use of a small re-entrant in the cliffs, and was provided with a main drain and secondary feeder-drains to carry off surface water (pl. XLII, *d*). The lower slopes are gravel-covered; but at the beginning of the descent the road-cutting has exposed the tufa, and on either side of the road there is a small but dense cemetery of chamber-tombs. Down the lower slopes the road swung to the right and probably crossed the stream some distance below the confluence of the Fosso delle Rote with the main stream of the Rio Fratta. On the other side of the stream there was a choice of routes. The main track to Gallese probably turned left, up the valley for nearly a kilometre, before climbing on to the plateau by way of the cutting at Casale Santa Lucia (I) (p. 167). A steeper, more direct track led up the far slopes to the cemetery on the brow, opposite the ancient settlement.

The traveller from Gallese, on arrival at the head of the gully leading up from the Rio Fratta, also had a choice of routes. He might bear left, towards the west gate of the walled site; or he might follow the main track, up the slight natural depression that leads to the right, and so across the ridgeway road at the modern farmhouse. On reaching the edge of the Fosso delle Rote the track once more dropped into a narrow cutting, which winds down the steeply shelving slopes to a crossing some 150 m. upstream, where there are the scanty remains of a bridge, apparently of medieval date. The details of the ancient crossing have been obscured both by nature (the stream is still actively eroding) and by man (there is a well-used mule-track along the lower slopes), but up the far side the line of the ancient road is once more clearly visible as a prominent bank, scarped into the side of a shallow re-entrant valley and leading up to the plateau beyond. Here all superficial traces have been obliterated in recent years by deep ploughing, but in air photographs the road can be followed for another kilometre or so, swinging right along the ridge of the plateau between the Fosso di San Silvestro and the Fosso Salerco. It is perhaps worth noting that, despite heavy ploughing, and in marked contrast to the next stretch to the west (p. 154), the eastern part of the plateau, to the south of the Fosso di San Silvestro has yielded very few traces of antiquity, not even the occasional scattered sherd that one finds sporadically all over the open ground immediately to the north and south of the Rio Fratta. It may well be that except for the trackways leading across it, this was ground that in antiquity had not yet been cleared.

For the onward continuation of this road towards Falerii Veteres, see pp. 152-4.

(*i*) *Grotta Porciosa: the Faliscan site* (fig. 28, pls. XLIII, XLIV). The defences are best preserved along the east side, where they consist of a bank and ditch running from cliff to cliff and interrupted a short distance from the north edge for the passage of the ridgeway track. The bank is heavily overgrown, but here and there it is possible to see that there is a core of tufa masonry; whether this was a free-standing wall or whether (as the profile of the ground rather suggests) it was a wall backed by an earthern rampart, cannot now be determined. The ditch, broad and rock-cut, is well preserved at the north end, and opening off it are several tombs, one of which appears to have been surmounted by a tumulus. Towards the south-east corner the ground drops somewhat and the wall can be followed for some way where it doubles back along the brow of the steep, but by no means precipitous, slopes overlooking the Fosso di San Silvestro. The remains, though fragmentary and overlaid by earth washed down from above, are sufficient to show that the footings were stepped into the rock, as at Corchiano (p. 115) and elsewhere. Along the rest of the south (south-east) side and the southern part of the west (south-west) side, where the fortifications followed the edge of a small re-entrant, there are no visible traces of masonry and a short sector of the west side has been ploughed right out. North of the road, however, the ditch is once more well preserved, running through to the lip of the gorge; there are no graves here, but immediately outside the ditch are a number of blocks of squared tufa, recently ploughed out. Along the north side there is no sign of any artificial defences; the cliffs of the Rio Fratta were rightly held to be a sufficient protection. Within the fortifications the only visible features are the sunken lines of the ancient road and of its medieval successor, which is still in active use. At one point the latter cuts through an ancient *cuniculus*. The total area enclosed by the defences is about 3 hectares (7½ acres).

This can hardly be other than the site discovered by Dennis 'about a mile and a half west of Ponte Felice, on the way to Corchiano' and identified by him as *Fescennium* (i, pp. 121–123), although there are discrepancies between his account and the remains now visible. According to him 'the site is indicated by a long line of walling, an embankment to the cliffs on one side of a ravine. From the character of the ground the city must have been of great size . . . a wide area, some miles in circuit, surrounded by ravines of great depth. . . . The area of the city is covered with dense wood, which greatly impedes research; on it stands the ruined church of San Silvestro, which gives its name to the spot. The wall is the facing to a sort of natural bastion in the cliff, considerably below the level of the city.' Dennis's mistake over the size of the city is readily explained by the dense woodland that then covered it, since all he actually saw was one section of the wall, extending 'in an unbroken mass for 150 or 200 feet.' This must have been the wall along the south side, including probably the prominent south-eastern angle, which is indeed somewhat below the rest of the site, though not nearly so much below it as Dennis's description would suggest. Of 'the ruined church of San Silvestro' (which may well have stood some distance to the south-west, near the cross-roads) all trace seems to have disappeared. On the latest edition of the Carta d'Italia even the name has migrated to the plateau south of the *fosso* of the same name. In the edition of 1897, however, the name is still applied to that part of the adjoining plateau which lies above the narrows, between the Fosso di S. Silvestro and the Fosso delle Rote; on this map the promontory between the Fosso di S. Silvestro and the Fosso Salerco (now the regions of S. Silvestro and La Chiesola) bears the significant name of Macchia di Borghetto. To avoid confusion, the name adopted to describe the site in the present article, Grotta Porciosa, is that which figures in the current edition.

When Dennis saw the walls they were better preserved than they are today: 'about eight or ten courses are standing, formed of tufo blocks, from 18 to 22 inches in height, and square, or nearly so, not alternating with long blocks as in the usual *emplecton*. . . .'

Ashby visited and referred briefly to the site, but otherwise it seems to have received little or no attention from the time of Dennis down to the present day.

(*ii*) *Other sites near Grotta Porciosa.* The following sites lie within a kilometre of the Faliscan settlement and are more or less closely related to the ancient roads around it:

879914 Large Roman mausoleum, the Torre di Grotta Porciosa. The layered concrete core, of tufa set in a very dark mortar, survives to a height of over 6 m. (base-measurements, 3.40 × 2.90); the courses of the facing, which was of travertine, were 60–70 cm. high. All trace of the buildings to which it belonged (described by Ashby and Fell, p. 160, as a late Roman building) disappeared when a farmhouse was built on or near the site a few years ago.

879920 Cut into the tufa on either side of the ancient road, at the head of the gully leading up from the Rio Fratta, a cemetery of chamber-tombs. The façades have in most cases fallen, but there is nothing to suggest that these had any architectural pretensions; the interiors are extremely plain, with simple benches or *loculi*. Exposed in the east wall are two interconnecting *cuniculi*, the upper one running at right angles to and discharging into the lower one, which ran parallel with the road, carrying off surface water and preventing the scouring out of the road-surface (pl. XLII, *d*).

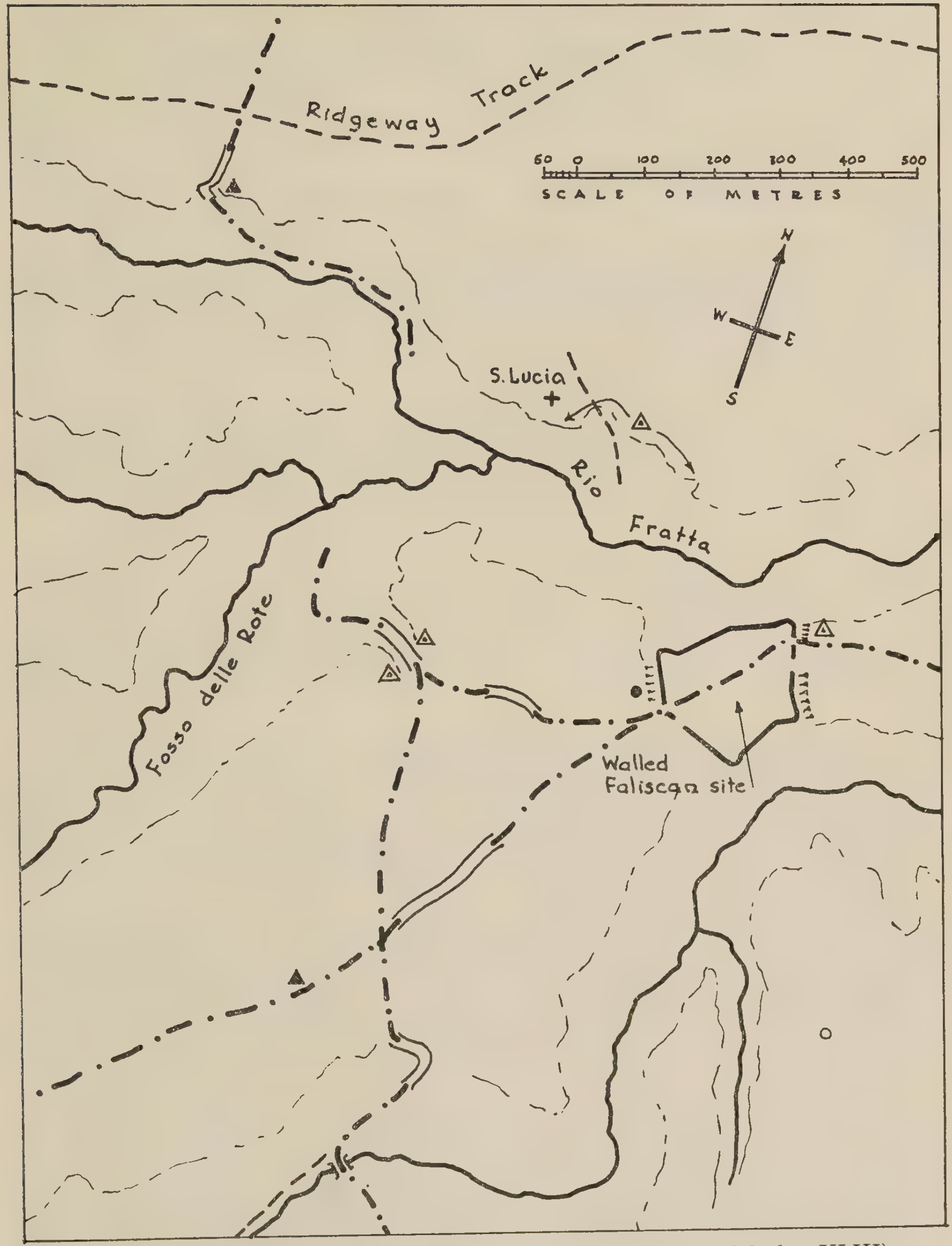


FIG. 28.—THE FALISCAN SITE OF GROTTA PORCIOSA AND ITS ROADS (cf. plate XLIII)

880925 Chapel of S. Lucia; see p. 168.

881912 Remains of a bridge over the Fosso di S. Silvestro. All that survives is a part of the north abutment, overgrown and inaccessible; the mortared rubble masonry suggests a medieval date. There must have been considerable traffic up and down the *fosso* when the medieval site a kilometre to the south-west was in active use.

880924 (approx.) and eastwards for 300–400 m., Faliscan cemetery on the north side of the Rio Fratta opposite Grotta Porciosa; see p. 168.

883921 Tufa blocks ploughed out just outside the ditch of the west defences, north of the ancient track.

886922 Small cemetery cut into the sides of the ditch at the north end of the east defences.

887917 Small, bramble-covered ruin of indeterminate post-classical date; the odd blocks of travertine are reused. This stretch of land, which appears in the 1897 edition of the Carta d'Italia as the Macchia di Borghetto, is now open ploughland, devoid of any trace of antiquity; it figures in the 1944 edition as 'La Chiesola.'

(*iii*) *Other sites south of the Rio Fratta*

849911 About 350 m. north-west of the Casale Paciano, an ancient crossing of the Fosso di Fustignano (the upper course of the Fosso delle Rote). A rock-cut path, now disused and in poor condition, drops to the stream; there is no trace of the actual crossing. On the far bank, just to the right, an ancient tomb with a pedimental façade is now used as a stable. This is presumably the find-spot of the inscribed funerary tiles recorded in *CIE* 8598–9.

851898 Remains of a Roman villa; see p. 148.

855902 For the evidence of an ancient bridge at this point, see p. 150.

858897 A small group of poorish tombs, overlooking a crossing; see p. 150.

867899 For the Fontana del Diavolo, which incorporates material of Roman date, see p. 150.

867900 A small group of trenched graves in the heights overlooking the Fontana del Diavolo, see p. 151.

870905 For a thin scatter of Roman material here and the discovery of a water-pipe, see p. 151.

876908 Fortified medieval site occupying a narrow triangular point of land between the precipitous gorges of the Fosso delle Sorcelle (the headwaters of the Fosso di San Silvestro) and its principal tributary, 1500 m. south-west of Grotta Porciosa. The landward defences consist of a broad, square-cut ditch across the neck, a curtain wall across the inner (east) edge of the ditch, and a tall, rectangular tower, projecting from the curtain wall at the south-west corner so as to command both wall and ditch. The masonry of the tower suggests a date in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries.

The tower, which measures 5.20 m. across the front by 4.00 m., rests on a massive platform of tufa blocks, and is preserved up to the fourth storey, the walls of each successive storey being of diminishing thickness. The internal floors and ceilings are of wood. The ground floor has a round-headed door and a single, westward embrasure; the next floor up was entered from within by wooden steps or a ladder and had two small, round-headed windows, later blocked to form embrasures. The third and principal storey had a number of small windows and two doors, on either side of the north-east corner, giving access to a timber balcony, of which the slots for the timber supporting brackets can be seen running round three sides of the tower. The fourth storey is fragmentary.

The interior of the site, which is densely overgrown, can hardly be more than 60–70 m. in length. It is honeycombed with caves, cisterns, silos, etc.

Below the castle, in the valley-bottom, there is an old bridge across the Fosso delle Sorcelle. This carries a track which may well have been first established as a variant to the more direct ancient road leading southwards from the Grotta Porciosa plateau, but which, with the collapse of the bridge on the earlier line, came in time to supersede it altogether. From the north end of the bridge below the castle a path winds obliquely westwards up the slopes and so out on to the plateau some 300 m. south-west of the castle ditch; where the rock-surface is exposed, near the crest, it is deeply rutted with cart-tracks. Other roads used by the occupants of the castle were the ridgeway track (which in some form or other must go back to Roman times) and another track across the Fosso delle Sorcelle, rather more than a kilometre upstream.

(*d*) *The Road-system of Corchiano* (figs. 19, p. 119; 27, p. 164)

The Faliscan site of Corchiano has already been described (p. 115). From it radiated a system of trackways, most of which have already been described in the previous sections (see below). The only identifiably ancient road that remains to be discussed is that leading southwards to the important pre-Roman site of Nepete (Nepi).

The pattern of communications was substantially altered in Roman times by the construction of the Via Amerina, which passed a kilometre to the west of the ancient site, and it is not even certain that the Faliscan town continued to be occupied. In the early Middle Ages, however, the local inhabitants once more sought refuge on what had been the ancient acropolis, and the old roads once more came into their own. The Faliscan road-system is still in active local use today, modified only where the Via Amerina has absorbed or replaced earlier trackways and, in recent times, by the advent of the railways and of motor transport.

(*i*) *The road to Falerii Veteres* (*Civita Castellana*); see p. 146.

(*ii*) *The road to Gallese*; see pp. 168–9.

(*iii*) *The roads to the north and west*; see p. 117.

(*iv*) *The road to Nepete* (*Nepi*). The first section of this road, Dennis's 'Via della Canara,' has already been described (p. 116). It left the Faliscan town by the west gate, passed to the left of the medieval chapel of Sant' Egidio, and so down a deep cutting to the valley-bottom of the Rio Fratta, thence across the stream and up a shallower cutting to the plateau beyond. Its antiquity is attested beyond doubt by the Etruscan inscription cut in the rock face of the cutting on the south side of the valley.

Arrived on the plateau, the present-day track heads off slightly east of south, accompanied at one point by an old cutting a little to the east of it, and after about a kilometre it joins a modern farm road running east and west through the gently rolling, richly cultivated ground just south of the headwaters of the Fosso delle Rote. This farm road is in fact a westward continuation of the ridgeway track that leads up from the Tiber valley at Borghetto, through Grotta Porciosa (pp. 171–3), and it looks as if in antiquity, too, a branch of the 'Via della Canara' linked up with this ridgeway track. Its main objective, however, is more likely to have been Nepi, with which Corchiano must certainly have been in direct communication in Faliscan times. This branch would have ceased to have any meaning after the construction of the Via Amerina, although it continued to be used by local farm traffic, as it still is today.

Another stretch of what is probably the same road can still be traced for a distance of nearly 5 km., running north and south a short distance to the west of Falerii Novi. For the greater part of this distance it can be traced without difficulty on air photographs, and careful inspection on the ground, particularly at the stream crossings, shows that it is undoubtedly an ancient road.

It is first identifiable as a field-boundary and track running straight across the plain to the west of Falerii, about 1500 m. west of the Porta di Giove. North of this point any trace that may have survived through Roman times has been obliterated by long cultivation and by the superimposition of a completely different pattern of communications. At the south edge of the plain, the crossing of the Rio Secco (the northern tributary of the Rio del Purgatorio) is marked by an ancient tomb on the north bank, and on the south side by a pronounced gully, in the banks of which are a number of sherds redeposited from a nearby occupation site. From this point onwards it runs through thick scrub. It can be identified here and there as a shallow gully (it is the continuous line presented by these gullies that can be read on the air photographs), but for the most part the present conditions do not permit detailed observation. A shallow ford with stepping stones still marks the crossing of the Fosso Maggiore, but from this point onwards it is not until the crossing of the Fosso di Grottabella (the headwaters of the Fosso dell'Isola) that there are once more unequivocal traces of antiquity. Here, barely 300 m. above the Ponte Minchione on the Papal road from Nepi to Civita Castellana, the valley, though not yet precipitous, is already quite a considerable obstacle, with wooded, steeply shelving slopes; and here, down the flank of a small tributary valley, the ancient road can be seen winding its way down towards the stream in a narrow, rock-cut gully. Falls of rock and surface drainage have exposed a considerable stretch of the old road-bed with wheel-ruts cutting deep into the surface of the tufa. On reaching the bottom the road crossed the stream at a point where an outcropping shelf of rock afforded an easy approach and a hard bottom, and there are indications that in antiquity the stream itself may have been diverted through a *cuniculus*, now blocked, the mouth of which can be seen at water-level a few yards upstream. Beyond the stream, the line of the road is marked by a deep, overgrown gully, running up to the high ground beyond.

From this point onwards all trace is once more lost. The high, rolling ground to the west of the Papal road must always have offered easy going, and it has long been under cultivation. There are the remains of a large Roman farm on the summit of Monte della Macina (m. 264), with magnificent views over the whole of the central Ager Faliscus, and the whole area is now deep-ploughed corn-land. Even if this section of the ancient road had remained in local use, the Papal road has for over 150 years offered an easy alternative. The most likely line runs through the saddle just to the west of the Roman site and then south-eastwards across the fields to join the Papal road at kilo 6.5, where the latter takes a sharp bend northwards, heading for Ponte Minchione. The Papal engineers and their present-day successors have succeeded in obliterating almost all trace of what lay along the line of the Papal road before the end of the eighteenth century. But at the crossing of the Rio Vicano (kilo 5.7), barely a kilometre north of Nepi, there are clear traces of an earlier stream-crossing, and it may well be that this, too, was part of the ancient road from Nepi to Corchiano.

A possible clue to its actual point of entry into Nepi is the record of a line of tombs opening off a road that lay beside, and had been cut into by, the trench that marks the line of the Via Amerina, where the latter climbs the slopes to the north of the city. One of these tombs was of the sixth century B.C.

800837 *Cuniculus* opening off the stream-bed at water-level (just above the ancient crossing, about 300 m. upstream from Ponte Minchione. The channel of the *cuniculus* is now blocked and the exit downstream obscured by later deposits. The wheeltracks exposed to the north of the crossing average 1.35 m. from centre to centre. They are not necessarily ancient, since this section of the track may well have been in later use, perhaps even down to the eighteenth century.

801832 Large Roman building on the summit of Monte della Macina, a prominent rounded hilltop, recently planted with a clump of trees, 400 m. west of the Papal road from Nepi to Civita Castellana. The remains include tufa blocks, tile, brick, and lumps of tufa-concrete with a waterproof facing, part of a tank or terrace; flooring in *opus signinum* and *opus spicatum*; dolia, amphorae, terra sigillata and coarse wares; glass. The hill takes its name from a large flat millstone (diam. 1.15 m.; thickness 0.33 m.) lying on the surface near the Roman site.

801866 Sherds, redeposited from a nearby occupation site, including black-glazed and polished red Roman wares.

802867 Small chamber-tomb beside the ancient road, now largely earth-filled; scattered black-glazed sherds.

810815 To the left of, and partly overlaid by, the embankment leading to the bridge over the Rio Vicano, remains of an earlier cutting leading down to the stream. A short distance to the west, a Roman tomb was found in the winter of 1956–57, during the enlargement of a large modern tufa quarry (contents not seen). There is a small chamber tomb in the south bank of the Rio Vicano, about 75 m. downstream.

812806 (approx.) Early cemetery beside an early road, which is cut by what in the context must be the cutting that marks the line of the Via Amerina; *Not. Scav.*, 1918, pp. 16–19. The actual cutting at this point may well be post-Roman, but the pre-Roman date of the early road is proved by the contents of one of the tombs.

VII. ROADS TO THE WEST OF THE VIA AMERINA

(Figs. 2, 3 and 10, pp. 74, 79, and 98)

For the greater part of its course within the Faliscan territory the Via Amerina must have run very close to the limits of the great Ciminian forest. The nature and extent of the forest, and the history of its gradual clearance, are subjects that await detailed study; all that we are concerned to do is to indicate what appear to have been the principal links westward from the Via Amerina during classical times.

From the crest of the Monti Sabatini to the point where it is joined by the medieval road from Settevene the road skirted a belt of country formed by the outcropping of underlying beds of lava, which form low, stony plateaux alternating with what under primitive conditions must have been shallow, swampy valleys. Cleared and drained, this strip forms an easy natural corridor. Before this, however, there was probably little to tempt the traveller westwards. Not until the prominent spur of Monterosi came in sight on the left was there any obvious short cut towards the hills at the north-west end of the Monti Sabatini which, though doubtless forested, were better drained, and which we know to have been sporadically occupied since very early times.[49] Here, or hereabouts, must have been the early road from Veii towards Sutri and thence up into central Etruria; and we may guess that it was somewhere about this point, after crossing the Fosso dei Pasci Bovi, that the earliest Roman road to Sutri left the Via Amerina. Of this early road there is now no trace. With the building of the Via Cassia it would have lost its meaning and it may well have disappeared altogether at quite an early date. For purposes of local communication its place was taken by the short stretch of paved road that links the Via Cassia with the Via Amerina at Casale del Cascinone, whence an unpaved country road struck off eastwards toward the densely cultivated stretch of country around Filissano and Mazzano.

[49] *Monumenti antichi*, iv, 1894, cc. 95–104.

Beyond this point, the lines of the Via Amerina and of the belt of exposed lava diverge somewhat, the former bearing right towards Nepi, the latter continuing north and slightly west up the line of the modern Via Ciminia, until it is overlaid by the foothills of Monte Cimino. Except where crossed by Roman roads the lava belt is almost entirely devoid of traces of antiquity, and even in Roman times it appears to have formed a very effective barrier to any westward expansion of the Ager Faliscus. There must, however, have been tracks across it from very early times.

One of the earliest of these cross-country tracks would have been that between Nepi and Sutri. Today, the traveller follows the Papal road for some 2 kilometres to the south-west, before striking off west to join the Via Cassia some distance short of Sutri. The ancient line was more direct, following the ridgeway that runs almost due west, between the Fosso di San Benedetto (the stream which higher up flows beneath the walls of Sutri, and which at Nepi plunges into a gorge to become the southern branch of the Fosso di Castello) and the next stream to the north, the Fosso del Cerro (or di Fontana Cupola). The line is certain, although for some distance outside Nepi the great Farnese fortifications and the Papal road have, between them, obliterated all superficial traces of any earlier layout. In antiquity and in the Middle Ages the west gate probably lay rather farther to the north, at the crest of the ridge, approximately where the modern road now enters the town through a gap in the fortifications; there are records of ancient cemeteries dating back to the seventh century B.C. just opposite this point ('Contrada Sante Grotte,' p. 181). It is, however, not until some 600 m. out that the actual line of the medieval road can be distinguished, bearing off to the right as an old country lane; and some 400 m. farther again before there are definite traces of its ancient predecessor, in the form of a broad, rock-cut trench, striking up the nose of the ridge to the left of the later track (pl. XVIII, *c*). For some distance the two run side by side, the former lined with groups of ancient tombs; then they merge, and from this point onwards there are no separate traces of the ancient line. Since, however, the ridgeway runs through without a break all the way to the gates of Sutri, there can be little doubt that this is the line of the Roman, and presumably also of the pre-Roman road between the two cities.

Two other old roads can be seen leaving the north-west corner of the fortifications of Nepi and heading in a generally westerly direction, the one making for Ronciglione, the other for Caprarola. In their present form both leave together up a broad and in places deep rock-cut trench, which climbs the hill beside the eighteenth-century aqueduct; at the top they part company, the right-hand branch dipping across the Rio Vicano and so out on to the open ground beyond, the left-hand branch bearing westwards along the ridgeway between the Rio Vicano and the Fosso di Fontana Cupola. Of the two, the former shows no signs of antiquity, although about 3 km. out it passes near the remains of two large Roman buildings. The latter, on the other hand, certainly joins and follows the line of a pre-medieval track for some distance. It originally left the town up the left bank of the Fosso di Fontana Cupola, past an ancient cemetery ('contrada Gilastro,' p. 181; now largely obliterated by market-gardens), and climbed the flanks of the ridge, up a gully which closely resembles that on the Sutri road, and which was once lined with tombs. For some distance along the ridge its course coincides with that of the nineteenth-century extension of the Nepi aqueduct, and the only surviving trace of antiquity is a gully with a flanking *cuniculus*. A short distance beyond this, in the valley to the right, there is a small cemetery, and a scatter of pottery and tile from an as yet unidentified Roman building.

The chief sites of interest within this area, to the west of the Via Amerina and north of the road to Sutri, are two Roman buildings about 3 km. north-west of the town (781825 and 782818). They seem to have been more luxurious than most of the buildings within the territory and, taken in conjunction with the comparable buildings on Monte della Macina (p. 179) and on the site of Casale Pazielli (p. 161), they suggest that this area to the west of the Via Amerina was one of quite well-to-do estates, much of whose land may well have been recently-cleared forest.

781825 Site of a substantial Roman building in open ploughland near a small farmhouse, about 200 m. north of the Caprarola track; a small platform of *opus signinum* is still intact and there is a scatter of brick and tile over a large area to the north and west of this. Not much pottery has been ploughed out, but finds include a few sherds of sigillata and one of black glaze; very large black tesserae from floor-mosaics, and tesserae of blue-glass from a wall-mosaic or *emblema*.

782818 Site of a rich Roman building in cultivated ground about 200 m. north-west of the farmhouse, Casale degli Archi (so named from the fine aqueduct of 1876, which crosses the valley just below it). The finds include blocks of squared tufa, brick, and tile; black and white tesserae and *opus signinum* flooring in position; red wall-plaster; and an unusually large quantity of fine marble veneer, including Greek and Italian marble, cipollino (also a column), and breccia corallina; also terra sigillata, black-glazed, and red polished wares. There is a fine perennial spring a short distance to the north-west.

789813 *Cuniculus* cut in the rock beside, and running parallel with, the Fosso di Fontana Cupola, on the south bank, just above an old farm-crossing. This is the only easy natural crossing of the stream for some distance in either direction, and would have afforded easy access from the Ronciglione ridgeway track to the buildings listed above.

791813 A pair of ancient rock-cut tombs, on the north side of the stream about 200 m. below the crossing.

795808 *Cuniculus* cut in the rock beside the old road, and parallel with it.

800832 Monte della Macina; see p. 179.

804807 Ancient cemetery, strung along the slopes looking across towards Nepi; a few of the tombs are still accessible, much altered for farm purposes. This is presumably part of the 'Contrada Gilastro' cemetery described in *Not. Scav.*, 1910, pp. 221–222, some of the material from which is now in the Villa Giulia Museum and dates back to the seventh century B.C.

807804 (approx.) Ancient cemetery found in a vineyard on the left-hand side of the road leading to the modern cemetery, in 'Contrada Sante Grotte' or 'San Feliziano'; *Not. Scav.*, 1910, pp. 199–207. Two groups of tombs, one of the seventh century B.C., the other of the third century B.C. or later. The name of the property current in 1910, 'San Feliziano,' derives from the abandoned remains of a small chapel, which incorporated those of a Roman tomb in *opus reticulatum*. The previous name, 'Sante Grotte,' referred presumably to real or supposed Christian burials within the cemetery.

The magnificent sixteenth-century fortifications on the westward side of the city are the work of Pier Luigi Farnese, duke of Castro, Nepi and Camerino, in 1540 (Tomassetti, iii, p. 150), as is recorded in the following inscriptions carved over the gate, and on scrolls beneath coats-of-arms on the angles of the north-western and south-western bastions, respectively:

(*a*) Paulus III Pont(ifex) Max(imus).

(*b*) P(etrus) Aloisius Farn(ese) dux I Castri et Nepae civitatem Nep(esinam) novo hoc opere munivit MDXL.

(*c*) P(etrus) Aloisius Farn(ese) dux I Castri et Nepete munimentum hoc ad tutelam civitatis extruxit MDXL.

The aqueduct, which crosses the valley to the north of the town opposite the north-west angle of the defences on a handsome two-tiered bridge in the Roman manner, was built in 1727, as recorded in an inscription placed over the fountain that forms the centrepiece of the south façade of the Palazzo del Comune, which is said to have been begun by the Farnese on designs by Vignola (Tomassetti, iii, p. 152):

> S.P.Q. Nepesinus ut publicae commoditati prospiceret salubrem aquam ductu subterraneo et arcuato secundo ab hinc miliario derivatam in novum fontem magna impensu deduxit A.D. MDCCXXVII Iosepho Renato card(inale) imperiali regim(ento) praef(ecto).

It was lengthened in 1876, to include fresh springs several kilometres upstream. It is tempting to believe that the original Papal aqueduct may in part at any rate represent a reactivation of a Roman supply; there are no specific traces of such, but the many *cuniculi* up this valley indicate an awareness of and interest in the water-supply which it offered.

With the exception of the large Roman sites referred to in the previous section, and of the pre-Roman road that skirts Falerii Novi to the west (p. 177), there is little of note to the west of the Via Amerina before Falerii itself. Here there seem to have been at least two roads striking westwards, the one along the ridgeway to the south of the Rio del Purgatorio, heading for Sutri (pp. 159–160, and its pendant and possible precursor immediately south of the Rio Calello, p. 142), the other striking off north-westwards in the general direction of Fabrica and Carbognano (p. 158). Both of these may well go back to Faliscan times, but they are very different in character and purpose. Whereas the Sutri road had to strike across the northern end of the inhospitable lava belt and must primarily have been a means of communication between the major inhabited centres of Falerii and Sutri, from here northwards the Faliscan plain merges directly with the foothills of Monte Cimino. These are deeply seamed with erosion gullies, and under any conditions they form a major obstacle to anybody travelling round the mountain. But, once cleared, this is well-drained, fertile soil, and the ridges between the valleys afford easy radial access from the plain below. The evidence for the gradual expansion of the Ager Faliscus in this direction is tantalisingly slender—a pre-Roman road striking north-westwards past Falerii Novi; a pair of ancient roads striking westwards from Corchiano, of which one at any rate, that in the direction of Vignanello (p. 117), is almost certainly pre-Roman; a possible but unproven westward continuation of the Borghetto ridgeway track (p. 120). Settlements such as those recorded near Fabrica and Carbognano (p. 158) leave all too little trace, and we can only guess that these were not the only adventurous spirits in Faliscan times, and that in Roman times the work that they had begun continued. What is certain is that by the Middle Ages there were large new areas available for settlement. Indeed, with the exception of such major established centres as Nepi, Civita Castellana and Gallese, the centre of gravity had by this time shifted out of the plain and on to the slopes and foothills of Monte Cimino itself, where we find a whole chain of small towns—Ronciglione, Caprarola, Carbognano, Fabrica, Vallerano, Vignanello—established in the heart of what had been the Ciminian forest. How and when that came about are subjects that await detailed study.

VIII. THE SUCCESSIVE ROAD SYSTEMS

In the preceding sections we have tried to present an objective picture of the pattern of ancient settlement and, in particular, of the ancient road systems within the central and northern Ager Faliscus, as they are represented in the surviving remains. No such presentation can be entirely free from questionable judgments of date and attribution, and there are many obvious gaps in the evidence. It may be useful, therefore, in this concluding section to review the evidence in its broader aspects, indicating not only those points on which there does seem to be reasonable ground for drawing conclusions of a general character, but also those on which our knowledge is at present altogether inadequate.

(*a*) *The Faliscan Roads* (fig. 29)

Any study of the Faliscan roads must begin with a word of warning. These roads were the creation of a simple agricultural society, living very close to the land which it cultivated. The Faliscans were prepared, where necessary, to undertake engineering feats of some magnitude. But their work was different both in scale and in conception from that of their more sophisticated Roman conquerors; and for the most part their communications were very closely conditioned by the facts of physical geography. This fact can be of great service in helping to distinguish the Faliscan from the Roman road-systems. But one has to remember also that, by comparison with the enduring facts and needs of rustic life, the relative sophistication of the Roman cities and villas was a transient phenomenon. Even in Roman times many outlying communities must have kept to a way of life that differed only in certain superficial details from that of their Faliscan precursors; and in the Middle Ages there was a general reversion to pre-Roman conditions. In a great many cases this meant the actual reoccupation of abandoned ancient sites (e.g. Falerii Veteres, and perhaps Corchiano) and the reactivation of the roads that led to them. Elsewhere the settlements themselves were new, but the conditions that shaped them were what they had always been. There had, of course, been some lasting changes—the course of the great Roman roads, for example, which no amount of neglect could entirely obliterate; or the area of country that had been stripped of its primeval vegetation, an area that was far greater now than it had been in pre-Roman times. But for the most part such factors affected the distribution of settlement rather than its character. What really determined the nature of the medieval roads was the enduring character of the Faliscan countryside. Not until the building of the Ponte Felice at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did the tide begin to set once more in the direction of a more sophisticated road-system. And it is only within the present century, with the advent of the motor car, that the old system has been in full and seemingly final retreat.

There is, in consequence, very little intrinsic difference between a Faliscan road and a medieval road—or for that matter almost any country road down to the beginning of the present century. For the identification of an early road one is dependent on other evidence. Very exceptionally one finds one of these roads physically stratified beneath some demonstrably early feature, as in the case of that seen by Ashby beneath the Roman masonry of the Treia viaduct (p. 155). Far more often there is a clear sequence (e.g. where there is a succession of cuttings down a hillside) but little evidence of absolute date. More generally valuable is the evidence of associated features. At least two important cuttings are surely attested as ancient by the inscriptions cut in their walls, one leading southwards from Corchiano (p. 117), the other crossing the Rio Maggiore a short distance west of Falerii Veteres (p. 142). Then, along many of the Faliscan roads there are traces of ancient bridges. Some of these are probably of Roman date, replacing earlier fords; others, such as the Ponte Terrano (p. 143), must assuredly be of pre-Roman origin. Cemeteries are another valuable indication of early date, although here again there is often a difficulty in distinguishing pre-Roman from Roman work. Finally, we may note the special case of Grotta Porciosa (pp. 171–6), where three roads, and by inference a fourth, are definitely associated with an abandoned pre-Roman site.

To the evidence of association may be added that of historical probability. Once it is established that the Faliscans had roads capable of carrying wheeled traffic, it follows that there must almost certainly have been roads of this sort between the more important centres; and our search for them is greatly simplified by the physical conformation of the countryside, which is such as to force communications into certain very restricted channels. When it is added that the most important centre of all, Falerii, was forcibly transplanted to a new site on the occasion of the Roman conquest, it will be seen that, although the individual evidence may not always be conclusive, cumulatively it can be very cogent.

It is on this sort of evidence that the map of Faliscan roads reproduced in fig. 29 is based. For some of the roads there can be no doubt whatsoever; others (e.g. the road between Nepi and Corchiano) are, in part at any rate, hypothetical. In addition to the roads shown, there must have been many other country tracks for which specific evidence is lacking (e.g. along the ridgeways to the north and south of the Rio Crué, both very plausible lines, and one of them later followed by a Roman road); but over most of the area covered the roads shown are probably the most important, and they certainly give a reasonable cross-section of the communications available within the pre-Roman Ager Faliscus.

At once the most obvious and the least distinctive of the Faliscan roads are the ridgeway tracks, which follow the level ground between the gorges, easy natural routes involving little or no engineering. The only serious limitation to their development was the survival of uncleared forest, an aspect of their history upon which further detailed research would doubtless yield interesting results. In antiquity, as today, these ridgeway roads were probably an important feature in shaping the pattern of outlying settlement. By contrast, the river valleys seem to have been very little used, except in the lower reaches, where gravel terraces afforded an easy, well-drained surface.

It is, however, the cross-country roads that yield the most distinctive evidence of the capabilities of the Faliscans as road-engineers. Wherever possible, these roads grew up along lines that offered easy natural crossings—natural breaks in the cliffs on either side of a deep valley, and a hard bottom to the stream itself. These were the age-old lines of communication and, like the ridgeway tracks, they

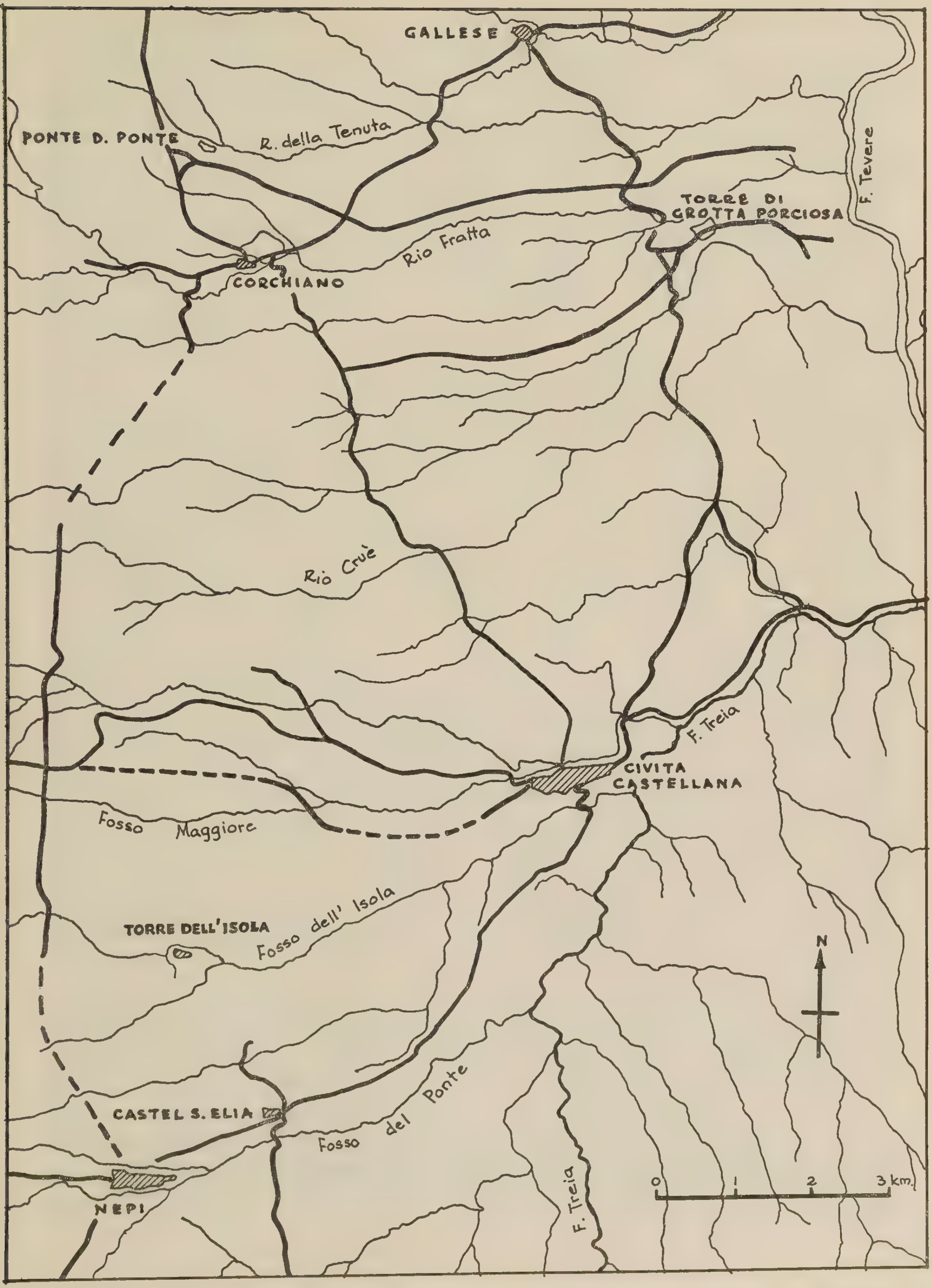


Fig. 29.—Map of the Principal Faliscan Roads and Sites North and West of Falerii Veteres (Civita Castellana)

are often the hardest to distinguish. Often, however, there was no simple, natural route; and in such cases we can see that the Faliscans were quite prepared to bridge a stream, presumably (although we know all too little for certain about Etruscan bridging methods), with timber bridges carried on stone piers; and they were ready to cut a path through the most formidable cliff. In this they were aided by the character of the tufa rock, which is so soft that it can be cut with a pick. It tends, furthermore, to split away from the parent mass along a vertical line, the result being that the normal profile of one of these Faliscan gorges is that of a steep slope of fallen debris, reaching anything from a half to four-fifths of the way up from the valley bottom, and at the top of the slope a relatively low line of sheer cliff (cf. pl. XL, *a*). If there was no convenient break in the cliff, the road-makers would choose a spot where there was easy access up the slope and then they would carry the road up through the cliff by means of a cutting from 2 to 2½ m. wide and in places up to 15 m. in depth.

A large cutting of this sort is a moving and impressive object. It may be straight (e.g. the crossing of the Fosso delle Sorcelle along the road from Falerii Veteres to Corchiano, p. 147) or winding (e.g. the descent of the same road into the Rio Fratta, just below Corchiano, p. 148); and one can see that it was normally cut downwards from the surface in a series of working-levels that follow the incline of the finished road. These successive working-stages are so clearly marked in some cases as to suggest that they may represent successive deepenings during the lifetime of the road. Up to a certain point this may be true; the normal way to maintain such a road is to deepen it, whenever the surface begins to wear. But we have the example of the cutting across the Fosso Maggiore just above its junction with the Fosso Tre Ponti (p. 141) to show that the depth of a cutting is not to be explained simply by long use. This is a fine, deep cutting, with typical working-levels visible in the sides, and yet the inscription was cut when the road-surface was virtually what it is today. Another interesting feature of this particular example and of several other of the deeper cuttings is that there is often a considerable amount of overhang, suggesting at first glance that they might originally have been cut as tunnels and only later adapted as cuttings, when the roof of the tunnel collapsed. Close inspection, however, shows that the concavities are the natural result of working with a pick within a narrow trench. In exceptional cases the Etruscans were certainly prepared to carry their roads through tunnels (e.g. on the Pietra Pertusa road running eastwards from Veii), but there does not seem as yet to be any certain example of this practice within the Faliscan territory.

Another important feature of these cuttings is their drainage. Normally an open drain down the side of the road would have been quite sufficient. This is still normal practice (the rock-cut road above Sacrofano offers a fine example in current use), and a good ancient example can be seen in the abandoned cutting leading down to the junction of the Fosso Tre Ponti with the Fosso Maggiore (p. 106). Sometimes the provision was more elaborate. Good ancient examples involving the use of *cuniculi* can be seen in the cutting with an Etruscan inscription south-west of Corchiano (p. 117) and in the cutting leading down to the Rio Fratta from Grotta Porciosa (p. 173).

(*b*) *The Roman Roads*

The most important of the Roman roads within the Ager Faliscus was the Via Amerina, the course of which has been amply described in the first section of this article. We can hardly doubt that it was laid out during the years immediately following the final conquest of the Falisci in 241, with the double purpose of affording easy access to the heart of the newly conquered territory and to its new administrative centre, Falerii Novi, and of providing a direct onward route to the Tiber crossing at Orte and thence into southern Umbria. The fact that the north-south axis of the town is carefully aligned upon the one place where the Rio del Purgatorio was readily bridgeable shows clearly that its builders had such a road in mind from the outset. We may date the Via Amerina with some confidence to 240 B.C. or very soon thereafter.

Constructionally it is, as we have seen, a road of marked contrasts. There were stretches, notably those on either side of Falerii, where it was patently laid out *ex novo* by the Roman engineers; others (as, for example, to the north-west of Corchiano) where it was almost certainly following the line of a pre-existing Faliscan road. The use of any existing features that might be serviceable is characteristic of the practical good sense of the Roman engineer. Equally characteristic, though it must have seemed very startling to the simple Faliscan peasantry, is the ruthless thoroughness with which he was prepared to drive his way across any obstacle, wherever there was no reasonable alternative. Whether or not the new stretches of the Via Amerina were built to impress, they must in fact have served as a very direct and practical reminder of the energy and resources of the conquering Roman people.

The structural characteristics of the new road have already been described in detail in connection with its most individual and dramatic stretch, that between Nepi and Falerii Novi—its mathematically straight course and impatience of obstacles; its very wide cuttings and careful gradients; and, perhaps the most striking novelty, the massive viaducts and lofty bridges with which it crossed the deeper gorges. It was, above all, the ability to build a bridge with a masonry arch that made such a road a possibility. Like his Faliscan predecessor, the Roman road-surveyor still preferred to pick a route that involved a minimum of heavy work; the route chosen for the Via Flaminia between Prima Porta and where it began to drop to cross the Treia can hardly have involved so much as the building of a culvert over a distance of nearly 35 km. of difficult, hilly country. But, faced with the possibility of avoiding a long detour, he had the necessary resources of bridging at his command. Even if the surviving bridge over the Fosso Tre Ponti could be shown not to be the work of the original builders—and it must be emphasised once more that the internal evidence all points to it being original—it would remain a fact that bridges of this general size and character were an integral part of the primary lay-out of the Via Amerina.

From Nepi onwards the Via Amerina is partly a new creation of *c.* 240 B.C., and partly an adaptation of existing roads. South of Nepi it has all the characteristics of an earlier road, paved in the Roman manner like all the rest of the road, but otherwise taken into use with seemingly very little change. This earlier road can hardly be other than that which for over a century had served the colony at

Nepi; and this is turn may well have followed the line of a yet earlier Etruscan road between Veii and the pre-Roman Nepete. The evidence for this has recently been discussed in another context,[50] and it will here be sufficient to summarise the main heads:

(*a*) There must have been early roads between these places.

(*b*) Within the area of the Ager Faliscus no road to Nepi could possibly have run farther to the east without getting involved in the gorges of the Treia basin. Farther westwards the only practicable alternative route is that followed by the medieval road from Rome, which leaves the Via Cassia just after Settevene and joins the Amerina at the Fosso dei Pasci Bovi (fig. 2).

(*c*) The line of the Cassia is here clearly later than that of the Amerina. Only so can one explain the strange duplication between the two roads over the 5 km. that follow the fork at Baccanae, since, of the two, the Amerina has by far the more difficult crossing of the northern rim of the Baccano crater, climbing steeply to a natural saddle, and winding down an equally steep natural ridge to the plain beyond; by striking through a large artificial cutting the Cassia was able to avoid these extremes of gradient. Had the line of the Cassia already been in existence at this point, the builders of the Amerina could hardly have failed to follow the shorter, easier route from Settevene.

(*d*) There exists a stretch of ancient road running north-north-west from the north-west gate of Veii and joining the Cassia at the former *osteria* of Pisciacavallo, a distance of about 2 km.; it was paved, and is usually regarded as a *diverticulum* from the Cassia, serving the Roman townlet on the site of Veii. But beside it there are very early cemeteries (a Villanovan cemetery, and a large tumulus, which probably dates back to the seventh century B.C.), and at the actual point of junction it is not the Cassia but this road which continues its course, as if it were the earlier of the two (*JRS*, *art. cit.*, pp. 142-3; pl. I, 4).

There does in fact seem to be good reason for supposing that as far as Nepi the Via Amerina follows the line of an ancient Etruscan road from Veii, adopted and later paved by the Romans, at first to serve Nepi and then, after 240, the territory beyond Nepi; in this early stage the traveller from Rome would have had to make use of one of the roads linking Rome and Veii, probably the Via Veientana,[51] the line of which is in fact an onward continuation of the road just described. When, some decades later, the Via Cassia came to be built, it incorporated that part of the earlier road which lay between Pisciacavallo and Baccanae; the first stretch was relegated to purely local use, and Baccanae became the effective starting-point of the Via Amerina. The paving of the road throughout its length with massive polygonal blocks of lava (*silex*, the modern *selce*) almost certainly dates from the period of its extension beyond Nepi; such at any rate is the natural conclusion to be drawn from the surviving remains, in particular along the stretch between Nepi and Falerii, where there is no trace of any earlier road-bed, and where in all other respects the paving appears to be an integral part of the original lay-out. If so, it must be one of the earliest examples of the use of *selce* paving on this extensive scale, since barely half a century before, in 293, the paving of the Via Appia from the temple of Mars to Bovillae had been an event sufficiently noteworthy to be included in the literary record.[52] In the case of the Via Amerina the use of *selce* was greatly facilitated by the fact that there were unlimited supplies available at the roadside (e.g. near Settevene).

---

[50] J. B. Ward Perkins, 'Etruscan and Roman roads in southern Etruria,' *JRS*, xlvii, 1957, pp. 139-143.
[51] *PBSR*, xxiii, 1955, pp. 45–58.

In 220 B.C. the Via Flaminia was built across the eastern edge of the Ager Faliscus, and with its construction the main lines of the Roman road-pattern were established in a form that was to alter very little for many centuries to come. The building of these two arterial roads and the transfer of Falerii to its new site were events that inevitably made themselves felt all over the territory. In some cases, as around Falerii Novi, they meant that new secondary roads had to be built. Elsewhere existing roads gained fresh importance; such a road was that which carried traffic from the new bridge across the Tiber up the Fosso di Rustica to Gallese. Yet other ancient roads dwindled in importance or were altogether abandoned.

It would be tedious to follow all these changes up in detail. The evidence, so far as it is known to us, is set out in the preceding sections; and one would have to know a great deal more about the detailed distribution of settlement in order to be able to draw from it conclusions of a more general character. The most that it is safe to say is that in the Ager Faliscus, as elsewhere in Roman times, there was a well-marked shift of population out from the old fortified settlements and down to the open country, beside the roads. With the possible exception of the elusive *Aequum Faliscum*,[53] there are none of the small road-stations that we find, for example, along the Via Clodia or the Via Cassia. But there is an unmistakable concentration of settlement along the Via Amerina; whereas Faliscan sites such as Corchiano and Grotta Porciosa seem to have been correspondingly deserted, if indeed the inhabitants had not been forcibly resettled, like those of Falerii Veteres, on the occasion of the Roman conquest. The phenomenon of a drift down to the main roads is one that is too closely paralleled today to call for further comment.

In conclusion, we may mention another aspect of the Roman countryside that finds fresh analogies in the present-day scene; this is the bringing into cultivation of large areas that had hitherto been forest land, the principal difference from today being that the Romans were clearing primeval forest, whereas today it is the secondary *macchia* that is being stripped. The large Roman farms to the north-west of Nepi (p. 181) are on land that had almost certainly been reclaimed from the fringes of the Ciminian forest; and there must still have been many tracts of untouched forest land within the Ager Faliscus itself. Once again we lack the evidence for a detailed assessment; but it is a factor that must have played an important part in shaping the pattern of settlement and, consequently, of the local road-system within the territory.

---

[52] Livy 10, 47.

[53] Ashby and Fell, p. 133, n. 2. Possibly to be identified with the ruins beside the Via Flaminia at the crossing of the Rio Fratta.

It remains to comment briefly on the names of the Roman roads within the Ager Faliscus. The *curatores* of the Via Cassia and the Via Clodia in the second and third century were responsible also for the maintenance of a number of secondary roads within the same general area (see list appended, p. 192). The names of these are given as the Via Amerina; the Via Annia; the Via Ciminia (or Cimina; both forms are attested); and the Via Nova Traiana (or Viae Tres Traianae). Two of these lay well outside the area of the present survey: the Via Traiana far to the north, towards Chiusi; and the Via Ciminia a short distance to the west, striking northwards from Sutri across Monte Cimino (the modern road of the same name, from Monterosi to Ronciglione, dates at earliest from the Middle Ages). The other two, the Via Amerina and the Via Annia, passed through the heart of the Ager Faliscus. In addition to these, two other roads are recorded by name in inscriptions from Falerii Novi, the Via Augusta and the Via Sacra. These were evidently local roads, maintained by the municipality.

In applying the name 'Via Amerina' to the road that leaves the Via Cassia at Baccanae and passes through Nepi and Falerii on its way to Orte (Horta) and Amelia (Ameria), we have followed the dictates of common sense; this was in fact the road that led in Roman times to Ameria.[54] It has, however, been argued[55] that this name can only be applied correctly to that part of the road which lies beyond Falerii Novi; and that the stretch to the south of the town should properly be referred to as the Via Annia. This view would imply that the road onwards was not laid out at the same time as Falerii Novi, but on some later occasion.

The only evidence for the detailed location of the Via Annia is contained in two inscriptions, both now lost, but both certainly attributable to Falerii Novi. The first of these (*CIL* xi, 1, 3083) is a dedication to Augustus, 'pater patriae et municipii,' by a group of four *magistri augustales*: 'viam Augustam ab via Annia extra portam ad Cereris silice sternendam curarunt.' The second (*CIL* xi, 1, 3126) is presumably of the second or third century and records the munificence of two individuals, father and son: 'viam Augustam a porta Cimina usque ad Anniam et viam sacram a chalcidico ad lucum Iunonis Curritis vetustate consumptas a novo restituerunt.' The evidence for the Chalcidicum and the shrine of Ceres is not sufficiently precise for us to locate them (see below); but the grove of Juno Curitis must assuredly be the famous shrine in the valley below Falerii Veteres, and the Via Sacra must, therefore, be identified with the processional way described by Ovid, scanty traces of which can be seen running eastwards from the east gate of Falerii Novi across the plateau, and so down the Cava di Lupo towards the site of the temple (p. 145). The Porta Ciminia can, with equal confidence, be identified with the surviving Porta di Giove. The only other gates that could possibly be described as facing either the forest or Monte Cimino are the north-west and north gates. Of these, the former is a mere postern, quite unsuited for a paved road (of which there is no trace); whereas, on any hypothesis, the road that left the north gate was the Via Amerina, and cannot therefore have been Via Augusta.

---

[54] It is recorded, but not by name, in the Tabula Peutingeriana, which gives the successive stations as *Vacanas, Nepe, Faleros, Castello Amerino, Ameria.*

[55] e.g. Garrucci, *Dissertazioni Archeologiche,* 1864, pp. 36–38.

From the first of the two inscriptions it is quite clear that the Via Augusta lay, as one would expect, outside the city. This alone would seem to exclude the identification of the Via Annia as the southern part of the road that we have called the Via Amerina, since this would involve identifying the Via Augusta with the axial street within the town, leading eastwards from the Porta di Giove towards the centre ('a porta Cimina usque ad Anniam'). The Via Augusta must, it seems, have been one of the two roads that led westwards from this gate; and, of the two, the more likely candidate is that which struck off south-westwards, towards Sutri. This road was in fact paved with blocks of lava (*silex*) up to its junction with the ridgeway road south of the Rio del Purgatorio; and this ridgeway road, though itself seemingly unpaved, was an ancient cross-country road of considerable local importance, linking Sutri with Falerii Veteres and later with Falerii Novi. In Roman as in Faliscan times it must have been one of the principal roads within the territory.

Can this be the Via Annia? The identification is not without its difficulties. One would *a priori* have expected the Via Annia to be a road passing to the west of Falerii Novi (and it would be rash to exclude the possibility that such a road has escaped notice), and one would have expected it to have been paved (of which there is no trace). Moreover, the most natural interpretation of the phrase 'extra portam' would certainly be that the Via Augusta struck off the Via Annia immediately outside one of the gates. The second of these arguments is, however, itself open to objection, since it is clearly implied by the terms of the other inscription that the Via Annia was some distance from the Porta Cimina (it was, in fact, the Via Augusta that linked the two); we can, therefore, hardly avoid interpreting the phrase in a more general sense as recording the laying of a stretch of paving 'in the suburbs,' between the Via Annia and the temple of Ceres.

Whether or not these are the correct identifications of the Via Annia and the Via Augusta (and it must be stressed that the evidence is far from conclusive), it is clear that the Via Annia cannot possibly be the road from Nepi to Falerii Novi. There is no reason whatever, therefore, to doubt that the stretch of the Via Amerina to the north of Falerii is contemporary with the road to the south. Its course is less rigidly planned, because the country was more open and, by adopting a more flexible route, it was possible to circumvent such major obstacles as the Rio Fratta, and so to avoid the expense of building and maintaining a succession of large bridges, as on the stretch between Nepi and Falerii; but there are exactly the same abnormally wide cuttings and easy gradients in both sections, and Falerii Novi was clearly laid out with such a northward road in mind. Town and road were part of a single scheme for the control and development of the newly subjected Ager Faliscus.

The shrine of Ceres, which is mentioned in one of the inscriptions quoted above, remains unidentified. If our interpretation of the two documents is correct, it ought to lie on the Via Augusta, that is in the direction of Sutri. Very probably to be associated with it are two inscriptions that are said to have been found together near Nepi and have, therefore, been classified among those of Nepete (*CIL* xi, 3196–3197); unfortunately the recorded find-spot, 'in agro Augibino' (Pighius), leaves us none the wiser.

The Curatores viarum Cassiae Clodiae

From the time of Augustus the maintenance of the great arterial roads in Italy lay in the hands of the *curatores viarum*, a board composed of men of consular or praetorian rank. Unlike the larger trunk roads such as the Via Flaminia or the Via Aurelia, which were each administered by a single curator, the Via Clodia and the Via Cassia were combined together under one authority. By the second century this also included other roads in Etruria that were considered sufficiently important to be kept up at public expense. The title in its fullest form is given in no. 3 in the list below, the 'curator viarum Clodiae Anniae Cassiae Ciminiae trium Traianarum et Amerinae.' For the history and particulars of the office, see Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, ii pp. 1077–1079; Hirschfeld, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten*, pp. 205–211; Kornemann, art. 'curatores,' P–W iv, pp. 1781–1784.

The following is a list of the known holders of the office.

1. *CIL* v, 877 = *ILS* 1052. Trajanic.
   A. Platorius A.f. Serg. Nepos Aponius Italicus Manilianus C. Licinius Pollio
   curat. viarum Cassiae Clodiae Ciminiae Novae Traianae
2. *CIL* x, 6006 = *ILS* 1066. Hadrianic.
   L. Burbuleius L.f. Quir. Optatus Ligarianus
   curat. viar. Clodiae Cassiae Ciminae
3. *CIL* ix, 5833 = *ILS* 1059. Hadrianic.
   C. Oppius C.f. Vel. Sabinus Iulius Nepos M'. Vibius Sollemnis Severus
   cur. viar. Clodiae Anniae Cassiae Ciminae trium Traianarum et Amerinae
4. *CIL* iii, 1458. Hadrianic.
   C. Curtius L.fil. Pollia Proculus
   curatori viar. Clodiae Anniae Cassiae Ciminiae
5. *CIL* iii, 6813 = *ILS* 1038. Hadrianic.
   . . . nius L.f. Stel . . . Gallus Vecilius Crispinus Mansuanius Marcellinus Numisius Sabinus
   curatori viar. Clodiae Cassiae Anniae Ciminiae Traianae Novae
6. *CIL* iii, 7394 = *ILS* 1093. Antoninus Pius.
   L. Pulliaenus Gargilius Antiquus
   curat. viae Clodiae Cassiae Ciminiae trium Traianar.
7. *CIL* vi, 1356 = 31637 = *ILS* 1109. Marcus Aurelius.
   L. Aurelius L.f. Quir. Gallus
   curatori viae Clodiae Anniae Cassiae Ciminiae et Novae Traianae
8. *CIL* xiv, 2164. Marcus Aurelius.
   T. Aelius Aurelius T.f. Epianus
   curatori viae Clodiae
9. *CIL* ii, 1532. Severus.
   M. Manius Cornelianus
   curatore (viarum Cassiae Ciminae) Anniae Amerinae Clodiae trium Traianarum
10. *CIL* viii, 2392 = *ILS* 1178. Alexander Severus.
    P. Iulius Iunianus Martialianus
    curatori viae Clodiae
11. *CIL* viii, 7049 = *ILS* 1177. Identical with above.
    curatori viarum Clodiae Cassiae et Ciminiae
12. *CIL* xi, 6338 = *ILS* 1187. Gordian III.
    C. Luxilius C.f. Pompt. Sabinus Egnatius Proculus
    cur. viar. et praef. aliment. Clodiae et coherent.

The office is also mentioned in the following fragmentary inscriptions; neither the names of the holders nor the dates are known.

13. *CIL* ix, 5155.
    (cur. viar. Clodiae Anniae) Cassiae Ciminae
14. *CIL* xi, 3008
    (cur. viar. Clodiae?) Ciminiae Cassiae . . .
15. *Journal of Roman Studies*, xiv, 1924, p. 177 = *Ann. ép.* 1926, no. 77.
    c(uratori v)iarum Anniae Clodiae Cassiae Cim(iniae) et trium Traianarum

Of the roads mentioned as falling under the supervision of this curator, there is no problem as to the identity of the Via Clodia, Cassia, Ciminia or Amerina.

The Via Annia (nos. 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 15) should certainly be identified with the road mentioned in inscriptions of Falerii Novi, which has been discussed above (pp. 190–1). The other Viae Anniae known to have existed in Italy may be excluded for geographical reasons. One is recorded as running north from Aquileia to Noricum (*CIL* v, 7992, 1008a); another 'Via Annia cum ramulis' is mentioned in inscriptions along with the Via Appia and a Via Traiana (*CIL* vi, 31338a, 31370); its location is still disputed. It has recently been very plausibly suggested that this was the road that scholars have named the Via Popillia, linking Capua with Rhegium (see V. Bracco in *Rendiconti dell'Acc. Arch. di Napoli*, xxix, 1954, pp. 14–17); and although this identification has not been accepted unanimously, it seems clear at least that the Via Annia in question lay somewhere in southern Italy. There can therefore be little doubt that the road mentioned in connection with the *curatores* was the Faliscan Via Annia, which was of sufficient importance to be placed under imperial maintenance.

Concerning the Via Nova Traiana (nos. 1, 5, 7), some doubt still exists. The Via Nova Traiana is recorded on two milestones as running 'a Volsiniis ad fines Clusinorum' (*Not. Scav.* 1913, p. 342; 1925, p. 36); but as this was already the route of the Via Cassia it remains uncertain whether the Via Nova Traiana was a *diverticulum* or, indeed, merely a new name for a part of the Cassia restored by Trajan. This road is presumably included in the other term appearing in these inscriptions, the Viae tres Traianae (nos. 3, 6, 9, 15), since the two do not occur together. For the two remaining Trajanic roads no certain identifications have been made, but for various possibilities, see M. Lopez Pegna, *Studi Etruschi*, xxi, 1950–1951, pp. 431–432. We can be certain only that these roads were included within the area of Etruria contained by the Via Cassia and the Via Clodia, and pending further research on the ground it would be rash to speculate.

(*c*) *The Medieval and Modern Road-system*

About the medieval road-pattern there is very little that can usefully be said until the mass of historical material available in local archives and elsewhere has been analysed with this specific question in mind. Studies such as that of Tomassetti have shown what a wealth of detailed information is available,[56] but hardly anywhere has this information been worked out in detail on the ground. Until this has been done, generalisation is bound to be precarious.

That there was, in many respects, a return to pre-Roman conditions is clear, and in a great many cases this actually took the form of the abandonment of Roman settlements and the reoccupation of pre-Roman sites. The desertion of Falerii Novi in favour of Civita Castellana is typical of what was happening over large parts of central Italy. With the collapse of central authority, a premium was put upon precisely those simple factors which had governed settlement in earlier times, above all upon defensibility. The cliff-top villages and castles of medieval Italy were a natural response to an age-old need. A few, such as Nepi and Gallese and some of the smaller castles, had been continuously occupied since earliest times. Many more, such as Civita Castellana and Torre dell'Isola, were ancient sites reoccupied after a long break, or were established on sites which, although now occupied for the first time, are physically indistinguishable from those of pre-Roman antiquity. The extent to which the pattern of medieval settlement repeats in detail that of the pre-Roman age naturally varies from one district to another. In the south-western Viterbese, for example, Bieda, Castel d'Asso, Norchia, San Giovenale, San Giuliano and Vetralla are all Etruscan sites reoccupied in the Middle Ages, and of these only Bieda can show evidence of continuity through Roman times; it is actually the exception to find a fortified Etruscan settlement that was not so reoccupied. In the Ager Faliscus the reversion was far less wholesale. Side by side with ancient sites that were now once more inhabited, we find a number of villages and castles that were certainly new foundations, and it is probably true to say that the divergence from the pre-Roman pattern of settlement was a good deal more thorough here than it was in many other parts of southern Etruria.

---

[56] e.g. iii, pp. 154–156, where he lists over 150 estate-names recorded from the immediate neighbourhood of Nepi. Many of these names appear to have survived from classical times.

It is not hard to suggest reasons for this. One such is undoubtedly the number of important Roman roads that ran through or near the territory, and which continued to exercise an influence on the location of settlement long after the collapse of formal Roman authority. The Via Cassia and the Via Flaminia were still major highways to the north; and although the Via Amerina may have ceased quite early to be an effective through-road, the number of small medieval castles established along it at the crossings are a clear indication that large stretches of it were still in active use and continued to play an important part in the pattern of local communication, and consequently of settlement. Another influential legacy from Roman antiquity was the clearance of forest-land. By the tenth and eleventh centuries, when the medieval pattern begins to emerge once more into clear view, we find a whole row of villages strung out along the south-eastern and eastern slopes of Monte Cimino. This was an entirely new element in the historical geography of the region, and in terms of agricultural settlement it is probably no exaggeration to say that by the later Middle Ages the centre of gravity had already shifted into what in Faliscan times must still have been very largely forest.

There are, therefore, important reservations to be made to any statement that the medieval road-system of the Ager Faliscus represents a substantial reversion to pre-Roman conditions. Granted these reservations, however, it remains true that there was a very close similarity in the conditions governing the construction and use of roads. Where, as at Corchiano, there was an existing system of local roads, traffic once more flowed down it; where, on the other hand, the site was a new creation, the relatively recent lay-out of its road-system can often only be detected on the ground by the absence of ancient features along it.

It was not until the close of the Middle Ages that the re-establishment of a strong Papal government once more created conditions comparable to those prevailing in Roman times. The principal focus of this renewed activity by the central authority was the strong Papal fortress of Civita Castellana. In Roman times the main line of the Via Flaminia had passed several kilometres to the east of the town, although there was almost certainly a *diverticulum* leaving it at the Osteria di Stabia and following approximately the line of the modern motor road, crossing the river Treia on a bridge just below the town, and rejoining the main road near the top of the hill leading down into the Tiber valley at Borghetto. This twofold pattern seems to have subsisted throughout the Middle Ages. Very soon afterwards, however, one can detect an increasing emphasis on what had been the secondary road, and by the seventeenth century this had become the main road, while the old line of the Via Flaminia was abandoned and fell into ruin.

The first intimation of these changes is given in the Porta Romana at Civita Castellana, a monumental gateway just below the point of the town, set across the southern flank of the saddle between it and Colle Vignale, on the line up which the road from the bridge must have passed. It was put up under Callixtus III (1455–1458) by Rodrigo Borgia, who later, as Pope Alexander VI, built the fortress to the west of the town, and it incorporates reused fragments from a Roman mausoleum, that of P. Glitius Gallus. The building of the Ponte Felice at Borghetto between 1589 and 1603[57] must greatly have increased the volume of traffic along the Via Flaminia; and a few years later Paul V (1605–1623), whose coat-of-arms figures on the same Porta Romana, closed the old route across the Treia under penalty of fine.[58] Henceforward all this profitable traffic had to pass beneath the walls of the town. The road did not pass through the town proper, but continued across the saddle, following the line of the ancient road that runs northwards past the temple of Juno; but it was an easy step up into the town, and it was no less easy for the Papal authorities to control all movement along what was still one of the two great highways from the north towards Rome. The bridge over the Treia was restored in 1635, and again in 1676; and finally, in 1709, Clement IX by spanning the Rio Maggiore on the north side of the town, made it possible for the traveller to enter Civita Castellana and leave it again to the north without retracing his steps. It is only in modern times that the main road has been directed once more to the east, leaving the town standing on a busy loop, a kilometre or so to the west of the main line of the Via Flaminia.

By the second decade of the eighteenth century Civita Castellana was thus in undisputed control of the main road to the north. Towards the end of the same century its position was further enhanced by the construction of a new road, to which frequent reference has been made in the preceding sections. This struck off from the current line of the Via Ciminia, to the north of Monterosi (where it was in fact following the line not of the ancient Via Ciminia, but of the medieval road leading from Monterosi to Ronciglione and so across Monte Cimino to Viterbo); it passed through Nepi and thence, making a wide detour to the north to avoid the Fossitello and the Fosso dell'Isola, it turned eastwards along the plateau, to enter Civita Castellana beneath the walls of the Papal fortress. This road, which made occasional use of earlier roads, but which was in its totality as much a new creation as any of the great Roman through-roads, is dated by its terminal inscriptions to the years 1787–1789 (see below; also pl. XLV). It has been incorporated unchanged into the modern road-system, and it is still the only motor road crossing the central Ager Faliscus from east to west.

With the construction of this road the main lines of communication within the Ager Faliscus were established in a form which lasted until the building of the railways in the present century. It is only within the last twenty-five years that motor transport has really begun to leave its mark on the countryside, and still more recently that the pattern of communications has started once more to shift. Much of the old scene has disappeared and more is disappearing daily; but much still remains. The purpose of the work of which the present article is a partial record is to survey as much as possible of that scene while there is yet time.

---

[57] See p. 165.

[58] This provision suggests that the Roman viaduct across the Treia on the line of the old Via Flaminia was still functioning. If so, it must have gone out of use quite soon afterwards.

For the Roman crossing of the river Treia, see Ashby and Fell, p. 156.

The Porta Romana, now partly engulfed in the supporting wall of the modern road, is a simple structure of heavily embossed tufa masonry, with a single arch made up of re-used classical fragments. The keystone bears the coat-of-arms of Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia (later Pope Alexander VI) and the following inscription:

RODORICO. BORIAE.
CALISTI. III. PONT. MAX.
NEPOTI. EPIS. PORT. CAR.
VALENT. S.R.E. VICECAN.
VEHIENTES
RELIQVIA SEPVLCRI
P. GLITII. GAL. TRIB.
MILITVM. LEG. PR. III. VIRI
CAPIT. CANDIDATI
VETVSTATE COLLAPSI
PATRI ET DOMINO
B.M. RESTITVI
CVRARUNT

For the tomb of P. Glitius Gallus, see *CIL* xi, 3097; a curving fragment of entablature in the central piazza and some decorated pieces in S. Maria del Carmine also evidently belonged to it. For the identification of Civita Castellana with the ancient Veii already in the fifteenth century, see the tomb-slab commemorating 'Iacobo Panalfutio Veientano,' d. 1461, now in the porch of the cathedral.

For the closing of the old Via Flaminia by Paul V, see Martinori, *Via Flaminia*, pp. 80–82.

Restorations of the now ruined bridge over the Treia are recorded in the two following inscriptions, which stood on the bridge; the second is now in the porch of the cathedral:

(*a*) VRBANVS VIII P.M.
AD CREMERAM VBI NOSTRI FABIOS
TRVCIDAVERE VEJENTES
PONTEM HVNC QVA VETVSTAS EXEDERAT
INSTAVRAVIT ANNO PONT. XII
ANTONIVS DVRANDVS GVBERNATOR
LAVRENTIVS PETRONIVS
RODOLPHVS DE RODOLPHII
MARCVS MORICONVS COSS.

(*b*) INNOCENTIO XI P.O.M. PONT. II
VIATOR SISTE GRESSVM
RENOVATAM
IN HOC MARMORE DE VEIENTANIS CONFLICTIS
LEGE MEMORIAM
RESTAVRANTIBVS
ILLMI. DD. ABBATE DE MITIS GVBERNATORE
IOSEPHO SACCHI ET IOANNE FANTIBASSO CONS.

The construction of the Ponte Clementino was commemorated in a medal, bearing the legend PROSPERVM ITER FACIET PONS CIVIT. CASTELLANAE, and with some later repairs it is still the bridge that is in use today. For this and for the bridges over the Treia, see Del Frate, pp. 28–30; F. Tarquini, *Notizie istoriche e territoriali di Civita Castellana*, 1874, pp. 43–45.

The construction of the Papal road linking the Via Cassia with Civita Castellana and the Via Flaminia is documented in two commemorative inscriptions. One of these (1789) is inscribed on a marble panel let into the base of a decorative column of travertine, which stands in the fork between the new road and the so-called 'Via Ciminia,' the medieval road from Monterosi to Sutri; on the shaft are inscribed pointers to Loreto and Florence respectively (p. XLV, *b*, *c*). The other (1787) is cut on a marble plaque which overlooks the carriageway of the new road at the point where it enters Civita Castellana, across the ditch of the Papal fortress.

(*a*) IVSSV
PII. SEXTI. P.M.
FRANCISCVS. MANTICA
C.A.C. CVR. VIAR.
VIAM. CASSIAM. AB. VRBE
AD II. L.
REFICIEND. ET. DIVERTICVLO
IVNGEND. CVR.
AN.ƆIƆIƆCCLXXXIX (*sic*)

and, on the labels on the shaft:
(i) FIRENZE
(ii) LORETO

(*b*) PIVS. SEXTVS. PONT. MAX.
VIAM. LONGAM. M.P. XS
AB. FALERIIS. AD. MILEARE. XXVS
VIAE. CASSIAE. PONTIB. FACTIS
OMNIQ̄. OPERE. MVNITAM. APERVIT
AN. CIƆIƆCCLXXXVII
FRANCISCO. MANTICA. C.A.C.
CVRATORE. VIAR.

M. W. FREDERIKSEN AND J. B. WARD PERKINS

APPENDIX

A Note on the water-supply of Civita Castellana

The elevated situation of Civita Castellana meant that, for its ancient as for its modern inhabitants, a supply of running water could be ensured only by bringing it in from a considerable distance along the valleys that converge on the town from the west. The Roman aqueduct over the Fosso Tre Ponti (p. 104) can only have supplied this site, and it was presumably built to serve the settlement that grew up on the abandoned site of Falerii Veteres.

The medieval city probably drew the bulk of its water from wells, but it is to this period that we must attribute also the reactivation of the Roman aqueduct, attested by the repair of the bridge across the Fosso Tre Ponti. At some considerably later date this line was replaced by one at a somewhat lower level, which drew its water from the bed of the same valley a short distance below the extant Roman and medieval remains. To this, or to some precursor of the aqueduct described in the following paragraph, must be ascribed the supply recorded in the honorary tablet set up in 1585, now placed in the southern wall of the central piazza:

PHILIPPO BONCOMPAGNO S.R.E. CARD. ET
M. PENIT. GREGORII XIII P.M. EX FR(atr)E NEPO-
TI OB PVBLICAS FVNCTIONES IN CIVITA-
TI DECVS ET COMODVM COPIOSISSIME
VERSAS ET IRRIGVVM SPETIOSVMQ.
FONTEM SITIENTI POPVLO PIE PROPINA-
TVM VEIENTES ACCEPTI BENEFICII MEMO-
RES RECTORI ET PR(incip)I BENEM(erenti) AD REI AETER-
NAM MEMORIAM VNANIME POSVERVNT MDMXVC

The fountain in the same piazza is the work of Pope Paul V (1605–1621), whose emblem, the dragon, it embodies.

A more ambitious project, attributed by local writers to Clement X (1670–1676), consisted of tapping a spring some 5 kilometres distant, under the walls of Santa Maria di Falleri (Falerii Novi); thence the water was carried by underground specus along the left bank of the Rio Maggiore, and passed into the town over the Ponte Terrano, supported above road-level by a series of arches (pl. XXXVIII, *b*). Whether or not it had any more primitive forerunner, it is clear that the aqueduct as it stands today is, despite later modifications, substantially Clement's work (Del Frate, p. 45; F. Tarquini, *Notizie istoriche e territoriali di Civita Castellana*, 1874, p. 71).

A third source of supply, from the neighbourhood of Ronciglione, has been constructed only in the last few years.

Notes on the Plates

XVII, *a*. Excavated section of the Via Amerina, beside the road leading from the Via Cassia (Kilo 34.7) to Campagnano; looking north. On the right, remains of a Roman building in *opus reticulatum*, with buttresses and other detail in small blocks of tufa; the wall across the road, beyond the figure, is modern. (p. 76)

b. The Via Amerina, where it begins to drop through the woods just south of the Fosso dei Pasci Bovi; looking south. (p. 77)

c. The Via Amerina, looking southwards across the Valle Coaro and the Fosso dei Pasci Bovi, from just below Casale il Cascinone. (p. 78)

d. The Via Amerina, north-west of Corchiano, just beyond Casale Sciardiglia; looking north. (p. 120)

XVIII, *a*. Ponte Nepesino, looking northwards across the valley. In the middle distance, the bridge; at the foot of the cliffs in the right foreground, the line of the Roman road, which joins the modern road where it swings left, round the low bluff. (p. 81)

b. The Via Amerina at Ponte Presso, looking northwards across the valley; in the foreground, grass-grown paving *in situ*. The modern road lies just to the left of the bushes in the left foreground. (p. 88)

c. The ancient road from Nepi to Sutri, about 1 km. west of Sutri; looking east. (p. 180)

d. Nepi, from the west (telephoto). The campanile is that of the cathedral, the tower that of the medieval castle; the dome in the distance, on the extreme right, stands near the nose of the promontory (cf. pl. XL, b). (p. 89)

XIX, *a*. Ponte Nepesino: the castle hill from the east. The hills in the distance are the north-western range of the Monti Sabatini, with the prominent triangular peak of Monte Rocca Romana; the rounded spur above Monterosi lies just off the illustration, to the left. The outer edge of the castle ditch can be seen running obliquely down, to the left of the castle, and beyond it the open ground that marks the site of the medieval village. (p. 83)

b. The same; from the south.

c. Ponte Nepesino: the bridge and its northern approaches. The destroyed 'Terme di Graccho' stood in the field to the left of the road, beyond the bridge. The cave above the left-hand arch of the bridge is still occupied, jointly, by a family and its livestock. (p. 81)

XX, *a*. Ponte Nepesino: the castle from the south-west. (p. 83)

b. Ponte Nepesino: the south-western flank of the Castle and the entrance, showing (in heavy shadow) the spring of the arched gateway spanning it. The wall in the left foreground is modern. (p. 83)

c. Ponte Nepesino: the entrance to one of a pair of Faliscan tombs, across the valley from the Castle, to the north (fig. 4, P). For the interior, see pl. XXXIII, *d*. (p. 87)

XXI, *a*. Ponte Nepesino, the bridge: south face of the first pier from the north. The masonry on the right is mainly Roman, that on the left dates from the widening of the bridge in Papal times. (p. 81)

b. Roman building, of *selce* concrete, to the west of the Via Amerina, near Casale il Cascinone (795751); from the south-west. Note the recesses in the angle buttresses, which incorporated some feature (masonry piers?), now destroyed. The beam-sockets are secondary. (p. 80)

c. Roman cistern, about 500 m. to the east of Casale l'Umiltá (812768); *selce* concrete, with remains of *opus incertum* facing. (p. 80)

d. Ponte Nepesino, the castle: masonry of the north-west outer wall, with relieving arch. (p. 83)

XXII, *a.* The Via Amerina, north of Nepi; looking northwards across the Rio Vicano. (p. 90)

b. The Via Amerina, north of Nepi; looking southwards across the Fossitello. The bushes beyond the head of the standing figure mark the site of the bridge, now a chasm 12–15 m. deep. (p. 91)

c. The Via Amerina, south of Falerii Novi; looking northwards across the Fosso Maggiore. Left, the trenched cutting of the road; right, the quarries from which the stone for the bridge was taken, now occupied by three large tombs (fig. 14, nos. 1–3). On the crest, beside the road, a prominent Roman mausoleum (no. 18). (pp. 104, 108)

d. Another view of the same quarries; just to the left of the centre is the entrance to tomb no. 1.

XXIII, *a.* Via Amerina, bridge over the Fosso Tre Ponti; from the south-east. (p. 98)

b. The same, the northern inner face of the arch. The projecting course served to carry the centring during construction.

c. Via Amerina, Roman bridge over the Fosso Maggiore; detail of the east face of the south abutment (cf. fig. 12). (p. 98)

XXIV, *a.* Via Amerina, Roman bridge over the Fosso Tre Ponti; the east face of the northern embankment. (p. 99)

b. The same; the east face of the north abutment and its two buttresses.

c. The same; detail of the masonry visible in the previous illustration.

d. Via Amerina, Roman bridge over the Fosso Maggiore; detail of the masonry and concrete footings of the south abutment (cf. fig. 12). (p. 99)

XXV, The Via Amerina, south of Falerii Novi, between the Fosso Tre Ponti (bottom) and the Rio Calello (top); the top of the plate is slightly west of north. The illustration shows clearly the mathematically straight course of the road (the appearance of slight deviations is due to superficial vegetation) and the broad, gently sloping trenches in which the road is carried down to the successive bridges. It also illustrates the precipitous character of the gorges that mark the lower courses of the streams (notably, here, that of the Fosso Maggiore), and the narrow trenches that are cut through the silt by the actual stream-beds, both here and in their upper courses. The stretch of country to the left of the road between Fosso Tre Ponti and Fosso Maggiore is typical second-growth woodland, mainly low scrub, with a few large trees; through it runs a woodland ridgeway path. Along the north bank of the Fosso Maggiore is a stretch of *macchia*, virtually impenetrable except by charcoal-burners' paths; and beyond it again, a broad stretch of woodland that has been recently cleared for cultivation. In the latter can still be seen the line of several ploughed-out paths.

At the extreme top right-hand corner is a small section of the ridgway track running westwards from Ponte Terrano (Falerii Veteres) towards Sutri (visible also in pl. XXVI); and, near the right-hand bottom corner, the Faliscan rock-cut roads leading down to the crossing at the junction of the two Fossi. (p. 97)

For a detailed map of part of the area illustrated, see fig. 14, p. 105.

XXVI, Falerii Novi; the top of the plate is approximately north-east. For a key-map, illustrating the site of the city, see fig. 26. This illustration also overlaps (but on a different orientation) with Plate XXV.

Except for the southern approach of the Via Amerina and the ridgeway road to the south of the town, none of the ancient roads are still in use. Stretches of which more or less clear traces can be made out in the photograph illustrated are (*a*, top right) that to the north-east, crossing the fork of the two white roads, and (*b*) that to the north-west, heading straight for the left-hand margin from the Porta di Giove. The line of the Via Amerina across the town is almost completely obliterated by that of a modern hedge, which runs slightly obliquely to it; its onward course can just be made out between the walls and the white road, heading for the Cerreto crossing and 'il Castellaccio', which is just visible in the top left-hand margin. Note the medieval road and crossing to the south-west of the town. The regular cultivation to the west of the town, suggestive of ancient centuriation, is of relatively recent origin. (pp. 155–9)

XXVII, *a*. The cliff-top village of Corchiano, on the site of the ancient citadel. The view is taken from the east, from a point just above the cutting that carries the Civita Castellana road up on to the plateau to the south of the town.

b. Faliscan road-cutting south-west of Corchiano, just below the chapel of S. Egidio. The steps lead up to a wayside shrine beside what is still a busy country road. (p. 116)

c. Faliscan road-cutting south-east of Corchiano, on the ancient road to Falerii Veteres; just beyond the figure the road swings to the left to reach the bottom of the slope. The widening visible at the base of the rock-face in this and the preceding illustration is probably of quite recent date. The scored grooves worn by the traffic attest successive deepenings as a result of recuttings of the road-surface. (p. 116)

XXVIII, *a*. The wayside church of S. Maria del Soccorso and the Via Amerina, viewed from the railway viaduct. In the left foreground the modern bridge, on the site of the Roman bridge. (p. 111)

b. The same, looking northwards up the line of the Via Amerina. The scarped bank just to the right of the figures in the foreground marks the line of the Roman road.

c. The small wayside church of S. Egidio, standing in the fork between (*right*) the old road down to the crossing below S. Maria del Soccorso and (*left*) the 'Via della Canara', the ancient road illustrated in plate XXVII, *b*. (p. 118)

d. The wayside church of S. Maria delle Grazie and the ridgeway road north of the Rio Fratta, looking north-westwards in the direction of the Ponte del Ponte. The church stands at the crossing of this road and of the ancient road from Corchiano to Gallese. The ridgeway road, with its many parallel tracks, is a fine example as yet unspoiled by motor transport. (p. 169)

XXIX, *a*. The medieval castle of 'il Castellaccio', near the railway station of Corchiano (Viterbo line), viewed from the west. This part of the castle dates probably from the fourteenth or fifteenth century. (p. 118)

b. The elaborately carved west portal of the church of S. Maria del Soccorso. The grotesques and other carved detail on this door and on the elaborately carved shrine within the church suggest a date *c*. 1480–1490. (p. 118)

c. Medieval tower beside the Via Amerina, on the southern crest overlooking the Rio Fratta. The two surviving walls were built into the angle of an earlier structure, which has since collapsed. (p. 110)

XXX, The Faliscan site of Ponte del Ponte, near Corchiano. (p. 123)

XXXI, *a*. The Faliscan site of Ponte del Ponte, from the east; on the right, the gorge of the Rio della Tenuta; on the left, a shallow tributary valley, of which the right-hand bank has been scarped back to form a defensive wall along the south side of the inhabited site; in the distance, the peak of M. Cimino. The aqueduct is in heavy shadow, upstream from the site. (p. 123)

b. The rock-cut inscription of Larth Vel Arnies, beside the 'Via della Canara', south-west of Corchiano. The inscription is 3.48 m. long, the individual letters 33–36 cm. high. (p. 117)

XXXII, *a*. The south-east face of the aqueduct at Ponte del Ponte. (p. 125)

b. The *cuniculus* cut in the rock-face of the gorge, in order to carry the stream round the solid masonry mass of the aqueduct.

c. Detail of *a*, showing the rough core and the finer masonry of the outer face.

XXXIII. *a.* Facade of the finest of the rock-cut tombs in the cemetery to the north of Ponte del Ponte. The central *dromos* leads to the tomb-chamber and was presumably filled in or roofed over between interments. There were originally two columns, placed symmetrically (cf. fig. 22). (p. 125)

b. The interior of the same tomb, showing the central column supporting the roof and one of the loculi cut in the walls. The typical recessed frame to the loculus, (cf. *d*, below) was cut to hold the tiles with which these grave-recesses were regularly sealed.

c. Doorway and part of the porch of the best preserved of the tombs (no. 1) cut in the quarries beside the Via Amerina at the Fosso Maggiore crossing (cf. fig. 15). (p. 104)

d. Part of the interior of the Faliscan tomb at Ponte Nepesino of which the entrance is illustrated in plate XX, *c* (fig. 4,0). Note the recessed frame for closure-tiles, as in *b*, above. (p. 87)

XXXIV, *a.* The northern cliffs of the Fosso delle Chiare Fontane at the point where it is crossed by the Via Amerina. At this point the valley is a formidable obstacle, and the road had to strike obliquely up the cliff-face before turning northwards again at the crest. (p. 121)

b. Road-fork immediately north of the Fosso delle Chiare Fontane; on the left the Via Amerina, derelict and choked with vegetation; on the right its medieval successor, still in use as a farm track, leading to Casale S. Bruna. (p. 121)

XXXV, *a.* Casale S. Bruna, from the south-west. The apse of the church can just be seen over the low roof at the left-hand end of the *casale.* Behind the tower is the separately fortified extremity of the promontory, separated from the body of the church by a broad, rock-cut ditch; and to the right of the town can be seen two levels of rock-cut chambers. (p. 127)

b. The base of the tower, from the east. Note the two qualities of tufa and, bottom left, the large blocks of travertine taken from a Roman monument.

c. The upper part of the tower, from the west. The upper left-hand masonry, above the string-course and to the left of the window, is that of a later repair.

XXXVI, *a.* Civita Castellana (Falerii Veteres), looking west-north-westwards across the river Treia; on the left, the valley of the Rio Filetto; in the right foreground, a group of modern buildings overlooking the remains of the Papal bridge across the Treia; in the distance, Monte Cimino. The nose of the promontory occupied by the ancient and the medieval towns and the saddle between it and Colle Vignale are just beyond the right-hand edge of the picture. In the middle distance, above the prominent white cliff, can be seen the central tower of the Papal fortress, sited on the neck of the promontory, and to the left of it the cathedral (cf. pl. XXXVII, *a*). The houses on the extreme right are those of the modern suburb that has grown up around the railway station; they lie to north of the Fosso Maggiore.

b. The lower valley of the Fosso Maggiore and the site of the temple of Juno Curitis looking north-eastwards from the prominent spur ('Sassi Caduti') visible in pl. XXXVII, *c*. The track visible in the lower right-hand corner is that which leads down the flank of Colle Vignale, following the line of the ancient road, across the medieval bridge (barely visible in shadow; cf. pl. XXXVII, *c*), and so north-eastwards up the slopes of Montarano, the rounded eminence occupying the main sky-line. The cutting of the right-hand fork (towards Borghetto and the Via Flaminia) is clearly visible as a line of trees and vegetation cutting obliquely right across the upper slopes; the left-hand fork (towards Casale S. Maria and Gallese) swung to the left at a point just short of where this line of trees crosses the far horizon. The temple of Juno stood on the flat ground immediately to the right of the present track at the point where it bends to start climbing the hill. (pp. 132, 151)

XXXVII, *a*. The western end of Civita Castellana, seen from the south-east, across the valley of the Rio Filetto. At the highest point is the cathedral; to the left of it the Papal fortress; and below and to the left of the fortress the rock-cut ditch across the neck of the promontory which marks the western limit both of the ancient and of the medieval city (the profile of this against the skyline is obscured by the ramp that carries the Papal road across it, but the sheer inner face is clearly visible where it swings round the shoulder to the south-west of the cathedral). The prominent building in the centre of the picture is the chapel of S. Maria della Caritá; zig-zagging round it from the bottom right-hand corner can be seen the old road from Nepi, and above and to the right of it a number of ancient tombs.

b. Looking back across the Rio Filetto from the western end of the town (cf. the previous illustration, which was taken from a point near the far brow of the gorge towards the right-hand edge of the picture; also pl. XXXVI, *a*, which was taken from the slopes in the middle distance, beyond the cliff in heavy shadow). In the distance, on the right, is the northern end of Monte Soracte; and on the left, the mountains of the upper Sabina, north of Farfa. The road winding up the far slope is the old road to Nepi (cf. pl. XXXVIII, *a*), which crossed the stream by a bridge, now destroyed, just this side of the conspicuous farmhouse in the valley. (p. 136)

c. Medieval bridge across the stream of the Fosso Maggiore, just above the site of the temple of Juno Curitis (cf. pl. XXXVI, *b*, taken from the rocky spur visible beyond it); on the left skyline, the buildings of the hospital that stands on the point of the promontory occupied by the ancient and the medieval town; on the extreme left, in shadow, the cliffs of Colle Vignale. (p. 133)

d. Ponte Clementino and the Fosso Maggiore, looking east-south-eastwards across the lower part of the town; in the distance M. Soracte. (p. 133)

XXXVIII, *a*. The old road from Civita Castellana to Nepi, a little beyond the crest of its ascent to the Piani di Castello (cf. pl. XXVII, *b*). Though a busy local road right down to the end of the eighteenth century, it is here almost certainly following the ancient line. (p. 138)

b. The cutting of the ancient road from Civita Castellana to the west, towards Sutri and Falerii Novi, looking eastwards from a short distance to the west of Ponte Terrano; in the middle distance the arches of the aqueduct of Clement X, and beyond them the central tower of the Papal fortress. The chicken-runs in the left-hand margin occupy ancient tombs. (pp, 143, 197)

c. Concrete core of a Roman mausoleum adjoining the large Roman site on the upper slopes of Montarano. (p. 153)

XXXIX, *a*, *b*. Falerii Veteres: postern in the grounds of the convent attached to the church of S. Maria del Carmine, overlooking the Fosso Maggiore (cf. fig. 24). It was sited in a natural declivity down which led a foot-path, the lower part of which has now sheered away, leaving the gate isolated and almost inaccessible near the top of a towering cliff. (p. 134)

XL, *a*. The Fosso di Castello, looking eastwards from a point on the north side a short distance to the west of Castel S. Elia; the Church of S. Elia (cf. pl. XL, *c*) is just visible round the shoulder of the nearest cliff; beyond it, on the cliff-top, the modern sanctuary. This illustration gives a characteristic view of one of these Faliscan gorges, cut deep into the tufa and still actively eroding, with sheer cliffs along the crests and long, steep slopes of tumbled debris along the foot.

b. Looking south-westwards from the same point as in the previous illustration; on the right, the end of the promontory on which Nepi is built (the dome is that visible in pl. XVIII, *d*); on the left the Fosso della Massa. The conical hill in the distance is Monte Rocca Romana (cf. pl. XIX, *a*).

c. Castel S. Elia. In the foreground, the church of S. Elia; above it, the track that leads down from the northern crest of the Fosso di Castello to the medieval bridge in the valley below; to the left of the track, the medieval village, on the site of a small Faliscan settlement. Near the track can be made out the openings into several ancient tombs. (p. 139)

XLI, *a.* Inscription in Etruscan characters, cut in the rock-face of a road-cutting about 3 km. west of Civita Castellana. (p. 142)

b. Inscription in Latin characters, cut a few m. distant from that shown in the preceding illustration. (p. 141)

XLII, *a.* Looking south-eastwards from the walls of Gallese towards the chapel of S. Maria del Riposo, visible on the central skyline; the church of S. Famiano is just off the illustration to the left, and climbing obliquely up from it can be seen the ancient road up to the plateau, which forks just below the chapel, the left-hand branch heading for Grotta Porciosa and Falerii Veteres. In the distance, to the right of the chapel, Monte Soracte. (p. 166)

b. Looking south-westwards from the walls of Gallese, along the line of the road to Corchiano. (p. 168)

c. Vaulted Roman building beside the road from Gallese to Soriano at Kilo. 7.8. (p. 166)

d. *Cuniculi* beside the ancient road that leads down from the plateau to the west of Grotta Porciosa towards the crossing of the Rio Fratta. The right-hand channel collected the surface water, which was passed into a longitudinal channel (here exposed in section by a rock-fall in the lower left-hand corner) and so carried off down the slope. (p. 173)

XLIII. Air photograph of the Faliscan site of Grotta Porciosa and of the adjoining territory; cf. figs. 27, 28. (p. 172)

XLIV, *a.* The Faliscan fortified site of Grotta Porciosa, seen from the east. The line of trees and bushes is that of the southern part of the eastern defensive wall, running across the neck of the promontory towards the Fosso San Silvestro, the slopes of which drop away sharply in the extreme left-hand margin of the picture. (p. 174)

b. The same: the western defensive ditch, looking northwards from the causeway of the original west gate. The foliage conceals a sheer drop at the far end of the ditch into the gorge of the Rio Fratta. (p. 174)

c. The same: detail of *a* above. (p. 174)

d. The same: the original east gate, from the east. (p. 174)

XLV, *a.* Nepi, looking north-westwards from the approximate point of exit in antiquity of the Via Amerina, on the north side of the town. In the foreground, the falls that mark the point where the Fosso del Cerro plunges through the tufa to become the deep and precipitous northern branch of the Fosso di Castello; across the head of the falls, the low bridge carrying the Papal road to Civita Castellana; beyond it, the arches of the early eighteenth-century aqueduct; and on the extreme left, the inner angle of the great north-eastern bastion of the sixteenth-century fortifications. (pp. 89, 181–2)

b. Ornamental direction-post, marking the beginning of the new Papal road built in 1787–1789 to link the Via Cassia with the Via Flaminia, through Nepi and Civita Castellana. (pp. 195, 197)

c. Detail of the preceding illustration. (p. 197)

XLVI, Air photograph showing Civita Castellana (Falerii Veteres) and adjoining territory at a scale of approximately 1 : 55,000 (i.e. a total distance of just under 10 km. from top to bottom of the section illustrated; the scale is approximate only, since there is some photographic distortion, particularly towards the left-hand margin). It illustrates very clearly the conformation of the territory, with all the northern group of tributaries of the river Treia running in precipitous gorges and converging at the site of the town; the valley of the Treia itself, being wider and less precipitous at this point, is less strongly marked. In the right-hand margin are the southernmost of the group of streams that flow directly into the Tiber through the northern Ager Faliscus. Near the top margin, just to the left of the prominent white road, can be seen the circuit of Falerii Novi; Fabrica and Nepi lie just beyond the upper right-hand and left-hand corners, respectively. For other topographical details, see figs. 10 and 25.

XLVII. Panoramic view (in two sections) of the Ager Faliscus, as seen from the summit of Monte dell'Impiccato, on the northern rim of the Monti Sabatini, between the Via Cassia and the Via Amerina.

INDEXES TO THE ANCIENT ROAD SYSTEMS OF THE CENTRAL AND NORTHERN AGER FALISCUS

I. INDEX OF NAMES AND SUBJECTS

A

Aequum Faliscum, 189.
Ager Faliscus: 67–203, *passim*; geographical features of, 69, 128, 163, 199.
agriculture, ancient, *see* cultivation.
Amelia (*Ameria*), 123.
aqueduct: Faliscan, at Ponte del Ponte, 123–125; medieval and Papal, supplying Civita Castellana, 197; Papal and 19th century, at Nepi, 181–182; Roman and medieval, over Fosso Tre Ponti, 104, 106, 132.

B

Baccanae, 73.
Baccano, crater, 67, 75.
Bath-building, Roman, 87.
Benedictine foundation at Castel Sant' Elia, 139–140.
Bomarzo, 165.
Borghetto, 70, 110, 149–150, 154, 171–172, 177.
Bracciano, lake, 67
bridge:? Faliscan, 143, 145, 147–149; Roman, 91, 92, 97, 99, 102, 110–111, 121, 144–145, 170, over Fosso Tre Ponti, 97–101, over Tiber, 165; medieval and later, 133, 139, 154, 173–174; *see also* Ponte.

C

Caere (Cerveteri), 69.
Camillus, 131.
Campagnano, 69, 70, 73, 75–76.
Capena, 69.
Caprarola, 180, 182.
Casale:
  La Casaccia, 165–166;
  Cascinone, 78, 80, 179;
  Cinchino, 141;
  Fallarese, 117;
  di Fontana Matuccia, 150;
  Marini, 170–171;
  La Massa, 89;
  Messano, 106;
  Paciano, 150, 176;
  Pazielli, 160–161;
  La Piccionara, 167;
  Pilera, 110;
  Pratese, 120;
  Santa Bruna, 121, 127–128;
  Santa Lucia, 167, 173;
  Santa Maria, 153–154, 157;
  Sciardiglia, 117, 120, 123, 125, 170;
  Settevene, 77;
  dell' Umiltá, 80, 88, 90;
  Valle d'Oro, 73, 75.
Carbognano, 85, 158, 160, 182.
'Il Castellaccio', medieval fortification, by Rio Crué, 108, 110; ruined castle near Corchiano, 113, 118.
Castel Paterno, 138.
Castel Sant' Elia, 88, 90–91, 136, 138–140.
castles, *see* medieval castles.
Cava: della Vigna Rosa, 151; del Lupo (Cava Furiana), 145–146.
cemeteries, tombs: ancient, 85–89, 91, 96, 102, 104–106, 108, 111, 113, 115, 117, 123, 125, 130, 132, 139, 141–143, 145, 147, 150, 153, 157–162, 167–169, 172, 176, 179, 181, 188;
  Faliscan, 85–87, 96, 115, 117, 131, 136, 139–140, 151, 153, 158, 168, 173, 176, 178–179, 180–181, 188, 198, 201;
  painted plaster in, 87, 96, 104, 106;
  inhumations beneath tiles, 79;
  see also mausolea.
chapels, wayside, 80, 91, 111, 113, 118, 166–169, 174, 181, 200, 202.
Ciminian Forest: 69, 179, 189; in middle ages, 194; towns in former area of, 182.
cistern, 78, 80, 95, 151, 152, 166.
Civita Castellana, *see Falerii Veteres:* water-supply of, 197; and Papal State, 195.
Colle Vignale, 131, 133.
coloniae, 89, 131.
Contrada Aliano: 121, Sante Grotte (cemetery), 180–181; Gilastro (cemetery), 180–181; Sassaci, 153.
Corchiano (Santa Maria del Soccorso): 91, 95, 108, 110–118, 120, 123, 125, 146–149, 154, 168; road-system of, 168, 177–179.
cultivation, traces of ancient, 76, 88, 89, 102, 139.
cuniculi and drainage-channels: 76, 78, 85, 87–88, 90, 106, 108, 116–117, 150–151, 166, 173–174, 178, 181–182, 203; medieval, 108.
curatores viarum Cassiae Clodiae, 190, 192–193.

D

diverticula, 80, 155.

E

Etruscan: roads and Via Amerina, 188; sites in s.-w. Viterbese reoccupied in middle ages, 193.

F

Fabrica di Roma, 110–111, 143, 157, 159, 182.
Falerii Novi, Santa Maria di Fálleri: 70, 90, 97, 102, 108, 110, 128, 132, 134, 143–146, 155–162, 177, 182; creation and status of, 162.

- *Falerii Veteres* (Civita Castellana): 69, 70, 86, 89, 102, 116, 128–155, 157, 159, 166, 172; Faliscan gate at, 134–136; Porta Romana at, 195–196; *see* Civita Castellana.
- Faliscan: fortified sites and settlements, 85, 95, 120, 182; *see also* Corchiano, *Falerii Veteres*, Gallese, Ponte Nepesino, Ponte del Ponte, Torre dell' Isola; roads, general discussion of, 183–186.
- Farnese, Pier Luigi, Duke of Castro and Nepi, 181–182.
- *Fescennium*, 69.
- *Fidenae*, 130.
- Filissano, 139, 179.
- *foedus iniquum*, 162.
- Fontana del Diavolo, 150.
- Fosso, or Rio:
  - di Aliano (Fosso di Moccione), 163, 165, 166;
  - della Badessa, 159;
  - della Caduta, 151, 155, 133;
  - Calello, 99, 102, 104, 106, 141–142, 144, 182;
  - Carraccio, 121, 127;
  - di Castellaccio, *see* Rio Crué;
  - di Castello, 138–139, 180, 202, 203 (= del Cerro);
  - dei Cappuccini, 133;
  - Cerreto, 81, 83;
  - del Cerro (di Fontana Cupola), 180, 203 (= di Castello);
  - della Chiare Fontane, 108, 121, 127, 201;
  - della Cisternella, 87–88;
  - Crué (di Castellaccio), 108, 147–148, 150–153, 156, 158;
  - Cupo, 166;
  - Ferriere, 111;
  - Ficaccia, 111, 113;
  - Filetto, 130, 138–139, 142, 201–202;
  - Fossitello, 91–92, 96;
  - Fratta, 108, 110–111, 115–156, 120, 125, 154, 167–168, 169–177;
  - di Fustignano, 173, 176;
  - della Gaetta, 121, 127;
  - di Grottabella, 178;
  - dell' Isola, 90–92, 95, 97, 108, 140–141, 178;
  - della Maggiorana, 76;
  - Maggiore (trib. of Treia at Civita Castellana), 90, 102, 104, 106, 130, 133–134, 136, 141–144, 146, 149–150, 154, 159, 161, 178, 201;
  - Maggiore (= di Rustica, trib. of Tiber), 163, 165–156, 168;
  - della Massa (Chiuse Lunghe), 88;
  - Miccino, 120, 166–170;
  - dell' Olgiata, 67;
  - dei Pasci Bovi, 77, 179;
  - delle Pastine, 115–117, 120, 123, 170;
  - del Pavone, 76;
  - del Ponte, 139;
  - del Purgatorio, 102, 130, 142–145, 155, 157, 159, 161, 178, 182, 187, 191;
  - di Ronci, 77–78, 80;
  - delle Rote, 148, 167–168 171, 173–174;
  - di Rustica, 155, 163, 165–166 (=F. Maggiore);
  - Salerco, 153, 171, 173–174;
  - di San Benedetto, 180;
  - di Santa Bruna (F. Maggiore), 127;
  - San Famiano, 167;
  - San Silvestro (della Chiesola), 153, 154, 171, 173–174, 176, 203;
  - Secco, 178;
  - Selva di Mezzo (=delle Sorcelle = di San Silvestro), 152;
  - delle Sorcelle, 110, 147, 150, 176;
  - Stramuzzo, 76–77;
  - della Tenuta, 120, 123, 125, 170, 220;
  - della Torricella, 171;
  - dei Tre Camini, 142–144;
  - Treia, *see* Treia, river;
  - dei Tre Ponti, 91, 97, 99, 104, 106, 141;
  - Vicano, 90, 91, 140, 178–180.
- frescoes, Christian: 133; in chapel of Casale Pazielli, 161.
- *Fundus Terranus*, 143.

G

- Gallese, 70, 116, 118, 123, 149, 152, 155, 163–169, 173.
- gateway, Faliscan, at *Falerii Veteres*, 134.
- Gough, M. R.: *Ponte Nepesino*, 81–87, *La Torre dell' Isola* (*Castrum Insulae*), 92–96.
- Grotta Porciosa, Faliscan site and roads, 95, 152, 154, 166, 168, 171–176.
- Grotte Nassi, 168.

I

- inscriptions:
  - Etruscan and Faliscan, 117–118, 125, 141–142, 145, 158;
  - Faliscan road-makers' signs, 142;
  - Roman, 104, 106, 141, 143, 160–161, 196 (on lead pipe), 151;
  - Faliscan, on tiles from tombs, 171, 173, 176;
  - 16th century, 181, 196–197;
  - 17th century, 169, 196;
  - 18th century, 197.

M

- Macchia di Borghetto (La Chiesola), 174, 176.
- Madonna delle Grazie, 17th century church, 168–170.
- Madonna del Riposo, church, 167.
- marble: architectural, 75, 78, 80, 87, 105–106, 147, 154, 159, 161, 165, 181; portrait-head, and other sculpture, 75, 132, 161, 165.
- Maury, Jean-Siffrein, Cardinal, Bishop of Montefiascone, 161.
- mausoleum, Roman, 78, 80, 88, 97, 102, 106, 108, 142, 144, 147, 153, 159, 161, 166, 174, 202; Torre di Grotta Porciosa, 172.
- Mazzano, 76–77, 139, 179.
- mills and millstones, 91, 116, 160–162, 166, 168, 179.
- Montarano, hill, 149–152, 201.
- Monterosi, 67, 80, 83, 85.
- Morlupo, 69.
- mineral springs, 81, 85, 86.
- Monte: Cimino, 67, 69, 111, 128, 143, 165, 180 (*see* Ciminian Forest);
  - dell' Impiccato, 73, 75;
  - Lombrico, 155;
  - della Macina, 178–179;
  - delle Monache, 159;
  - Rocca Romana, 67;
  - Sabatini, 67, 69, 128, 179;
  - Soracte, 67, 69, 128, 131;
  - Terminillo, 67;
  - Terzo, 78.
- medieval antiquities:
  - castles, towers and fortified sites, 83, 94, 108, 110, 138, 151, 153–154, 160, 170–171, 176;

medieval antiquities (*contd.*)
  chapels and churches, 91, 118, 139–140, 166;
  deserted villages, 85, 127–128, 160, 171;
medieval and modern road systems, general discussion, 193–195; reversion to pre-Roman conditions, 183.

N

Nepi (*Nepete*), 70, 77–78, 83, 86–91, 110, 131, 136, 139, 141, 177, 180, 187.
Normans, sack *Falerii Novi*, 132.

O

opus: incertum, 80, 198.
  quadratum (squared tufa masonry), 87–89, 95, 97–102, 104, 110, 125, 127, 131, 134–136, 142, 145, 153, 166, 169, 174.
  reticulatum, 76, 89, 152–153, 181, 198.
  signinum, 140, 151, 179, 181.
  spicatum, 75, 78, 80, 87, 91, 161, 179.
Orte (*Horta*), 123.

P

Papal: bridges, *see* Ponte Clementino, Felice, Minchione, Nepesino; Government and Civita Castellana, 194–196, and Nepi, 88; roads, 83, 86, 90, 178, 180, 195.
Passo del Rosario, 151.
paving: cement inlaid with black tesserae, 91, 165, 181: mosaic (tesserae), 80, 148, 153, 165–66, 181; of *Via Amerina*, date of, 188–189; *see also opus*.
Pian, Piani, Piano:
  di Castello (Castel S. Elia) 136, 138, 140;
  del Cecio, 75;
  delle Colonnette, 111;
  di Luca, 150;
  di Lucciano, 171;
  del Pavone, 76;
  delle Rose, 76;
  di San Silvestro, 154.
Poggio dei Cappuccini, 146, 149–150.
Ponte: Clementino, Civita Castellana, 130, 133;
  Felice, over Tiber, 165, 171, 183;
  Minchione, 178;
  Presso, 88;
  Sassaci, 152;
  Terrano, modern bridge, with ancient remains, 142–143;
  di Valle Romano, 76.
Ponte Nepesino, town and bridge, 71, 81–87, 95–96.
Ponte del Ponte: 87, 117–118, 170;
  aqueduct and settlement, 123–127.
Popes
  Alexander VI, 129, 195; Callixtus III, 195; Clement VIII, 165; Clement IX, 195; Clement XI, 130, 133; Marinus, 163; Paul V, 195; Romanus, 163; Sixtus V, 1, 165.
population, shifts of, 116, 127, 189.
Porta di Giove, *Falerii Novi* 144, 155, 157.
pottery: classification used, 72;
  kiln at *Falerii Veteres*, 132; brick-kilns, 159–160;
  amphorae, 75–76, 78, 80, 89, 91, 106, 161, 179;
  black-glazed, 72, 78, 89, 91, 106, 111, 125, 140, 154, 160–161, 179, 181;
  dolia, 75, 78, 179;
  Early Iron Age, at Torre dell' Isola, 95;
  lamp, late Roman, 166.
  local rouletted ware, 72, 75–76, 78;
  medieval, 138, 140;
  red-figure vases, 140;
  red polished ware, 72, 75, 78, 80, 89, 91, 106, 111, 166, 172, 179;
  terra sigillata, 75–76, 78, 80, 89, 91, 106, 110–111, 132, 140, 148, 154, 166, 172, 180.

Q

querns, 75, 91.

R

ridgeways: 88, 120–121, 123, 125, 127, 141, 144, 148, 150, 152, 154, 159, 165, 177, 180, 184; north of the Rio Fratta, 169–171, south of the Rio Fratta, 171–176.
Rignano, 131.
Rio, *see* Fosso.
rock-cut: roads and tracks, 89–91, 106, 113, 116, 123, 141, 145, 148, 169; underground passage, 111; road-tunnel, 186.
Roman roads, general discussion of, 187–191.
Ronciglione, 85, 180, 182.

S

Sangallo, Antonio da, 129.
Santa Felicissima, 'catacomb of', 162.
Santa Maria della Carità, 138.
Santa Maria di Fálleri, abbey of, 158, 162.
Santa Maria del Soccorso, church of, 111, 116–118.
La Sassara, 77.
Settevene, 70, 76, 86, 179, 180.
shrines, rustic, 123, 169.
Soriano, 118, 165.
stucco, 80, 133.
Sutri, 67, 70, 131, 142, 144, 157, 159, 179, 180, 182.

T

temple: pre-Roman, 131–133;
  Roman, 76, 80, 87;
  of Juno Curitis at *Falerii Veteres*, 130, 133, 136, 145–146, 194–151, 155, 190;
  of Ceres at *Falerii Novi*, 191;
  of Mercury at *Falerii Veteres*, 132–134.
  see also shrines.
Tenuta di Casale, *see* Casale Pazielli.
Tenutella, 80.
Tiber, and Tiber valley, 67, 69, 70, 120, 125, 128, 147, 149, 150, 154, 156, 163, 169, 170–172, 177; bridge over Tiber, 165, 189.
Tombs, *see* cemeteries.
Torre di Grotta Porciosa, estate, 172, 174.
Torre dell' Isola (*Castrum Insulae*), 71, 92–96.
Torre Stroppa, 106.
La Torricella, 170.
towers, *see* medieval castles.
travertine fragments, in ruins, 153, 154, 166, 174.
Treia, river, 67, 69–71, 128–130, 133, 147, 154–156, 163, 203.
Trump, D. R., note on *Early Iron Age pottery from Torre dell' Isola*, 95–96.
tunnels on Etruscan roads, 186.

V

Valle Coaro (Covara), 77.
Valle Large, 77.
Vallerano, 182.

Veii: 67, 69, 128, 130, 179; road to Nepi?, 188.
Via: Amerina, 71–128, *passim*, 136, 139, 141, 144, 158, 162, 165, 170, 177; roads to the W. of, 179–182, 187–191; section of, visible, 76, 90; first paving of, 78.
  Annia, 190–191, 193;
  Appia, 189;
  Augusta, at *Falerii Novi*, 190–191.
  '*della Canara*', at *Corchiano*, 116, 177.
  Cassia, 67, 73, 75–78, 80, 86, 88, 179–180, 188;
  Ciminia, 180;
  Flaminia, 69, 133, 141, 147, 149, 151, 154, 162–163, 171, 187, 189; changes in early modern times 194;
  Nova Traiana, 193;
  Sacra, at *Falerii*, 145–146, 190;
  '*Selciatella*', 87;
  Veientana, 188.
Vignanello, 117, 120, 182.
villa, Roman (various large country establishments), 75, 78, 148, 150–152, 154, 160, 166, 172, 179, 181.

II. INDEX OF AUTHORS, DOCUMENTS AND INSCRIPTIONS

In this index are mentioned only such references as are the subject of original or important comment.

APPIAN

Iber. 43–44 162

CIE

8333 . . . . 141, 142
8401–8410 171
8598–8599 173

CIL

XI, 1 3083 190
3097 196
3100 146
3125 146
3126 190
3161 141–142
3196–3197 191
3214 89

LIBER COLONIARUM, LACHMANN

p. 217, 217, 5 . . . . . . 89, 131

LIVY

6, 9, 4 89
6, 21, 4 89
5, 26, 5 131
26, 16, 7–10 162

OVID

Amores, iii, 13, 1–6; 11–12; 24 . . . 146

PLINY

H. N. 3, 52 131

PROCOPIUS

Bell. Goth. 4, 35 89

VELLEIUS PATERCULUS

1, 14, 2 89

ZONARAS

8, 18 131

GENERAL INDEX

A

Ager Faliscus, *see* special indexes, pp. 205.
Alba Fucens, 37.
Apennine Culture, 1–15 *passim*.
aqueduct: *Anio Novus*, 25–31; *Anio Vetus*, 25–28; *Aqua Claudia*, 25–31; *Aqua Marcia*, 25–31, underground channel of, 27.
Àrsoli, 22, 32.

B

bridge, Roman, on or near *Via Valeria*, 23, 25, 30; Ponte S. Giorgio, 31, 32; Ponte Scutonico, 31; at Tivoli, 23.

C

Caere, port of, at Pyrgi, 19.
Carsioli, 33.
Castagnoli, F. and L. Cozza, *Appunti sulla topografia di Pyrgi*, 16–21.
Corbett, G. U. S., *Investigations at "Julianos' Church" at Umm-el-Jemal*, 39–66.
Cosa, 19.
Cozza, L., *see* Castagnoli.
crosses on door lintels, in Syria, 46, 49, 64–65.

E

Empulum, ? Castel Madama, 26.

F

flints, at La Starza, 13.
fortifications, in polygonal masonry, 19; of rectilinear plan (Fundi, Ostia), 19.
Frederiksen, M. W. and J. B. Ward Perkins, *The Ancient Road Systems of the Central and Northern Ager Faliscus*, 67–203.

G

Gerardo de' Normanni, Count, 16.

H

Horace's villa near Licenza, road to, 28.
houses, at Umm-el-Jemal, 43–50, 64.

I

inscriptions: of Flavius Lucianus, at Umm-el-Jemal, 65–66; of Julianos, at Umm-el-Jemal, 64–65; CIL XIV, 3665, 27.

M

marble, Proconnesian at Umm-el-Jemal, 59.
masonry, polygonal, 19, 34; header-and-stretcher, c. 300 B.C., 26, 28; *opus quadratum*, 28; construction at Umm-el-Jemal, 41, 58.
milestone, on *Via Valeria*, 30, 31, 32, 36, 37.

N

Nerva, emperor, restorations along *Via Valeria*, 32.

O

obsidian, at La Starza, 13.

P

Passo di Monte Bove, on *Via Valeria*, 22–23, 33–34.
pottery, Apennine, 5, 9–14; Apulian Geometric ware, 13, 14; painted ware, 6–7, 14; Rinaldone ware, 3, 8, 9, 14, 15.
Pyrgi, 16–21 *passim*.

R

Reynolds, J. M., *Note on the Inscription of Flavius Lucianus*, 65–66.
Rinaldone culture, 3–15.
Rutilius Namatianus, 23.

S

Sacco Muro, medieval castle, 26.
Santa Severa, castle, at Pyrgi, 16.
Saxula, 26.
Starza, La, prehistoric settlement at, 1–15.
Statio ad Lam(i)nas, on *Via Valeria*, 30.

T

Tivoli, 22–23.
tombs, on *Via Valeria*, 26–27, 29, 37; of Vestal Virgin Cossinia, 23; of Maenius Bassus, 27.
Trump, D. H., *The Prehistoric Settlement at La Starza, Ariano Irpino*, 1–15.

U

Umm-el-Jemal, town and church, 39–66 *passim*.

V

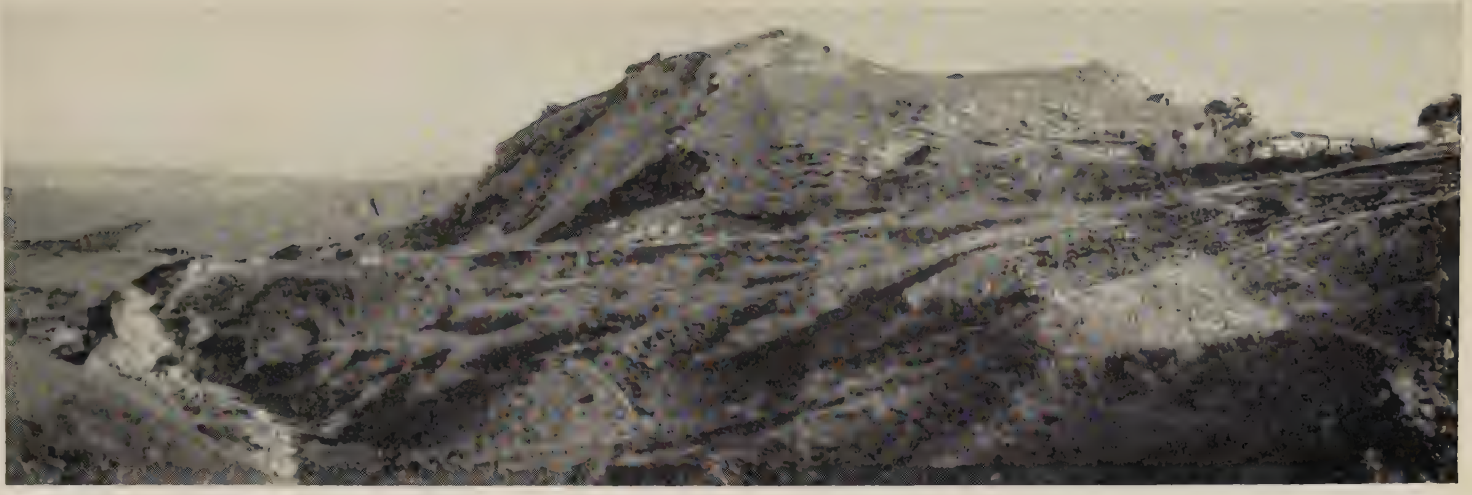
Van Essen, C. C., *The Via Valeria from Tivoli to Collarmele*, 22–38.
Via: Empolitana, 26; *Sublaquensis*, 31; *Tiburtina*, 22–23; del Turano, 33; *Valeria*, 22–38 *passim*.
Vicovero, Roman remains at, 28.

W

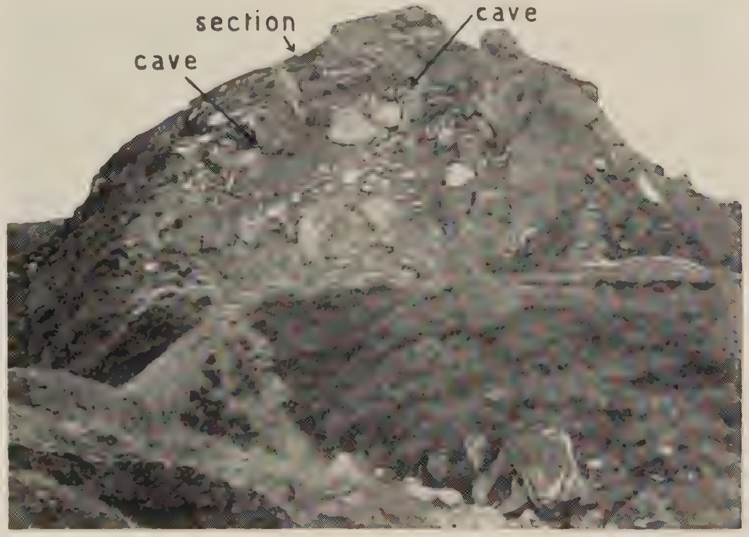
Ward Perkins, J. B. and M. W. Frederiksen, *The Ancient Road Systems of the Central and Northern Ager Faliscus*, 67–203.

BIBL.
LONDIN.
UNIV.

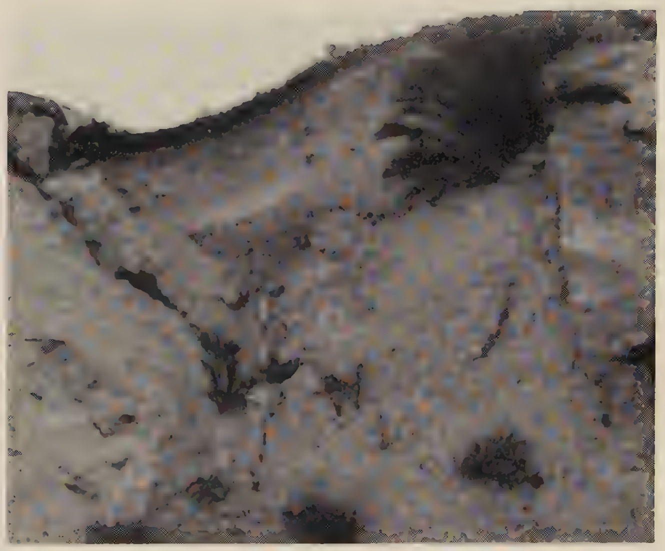
PLATE I



a. La Starza from the South



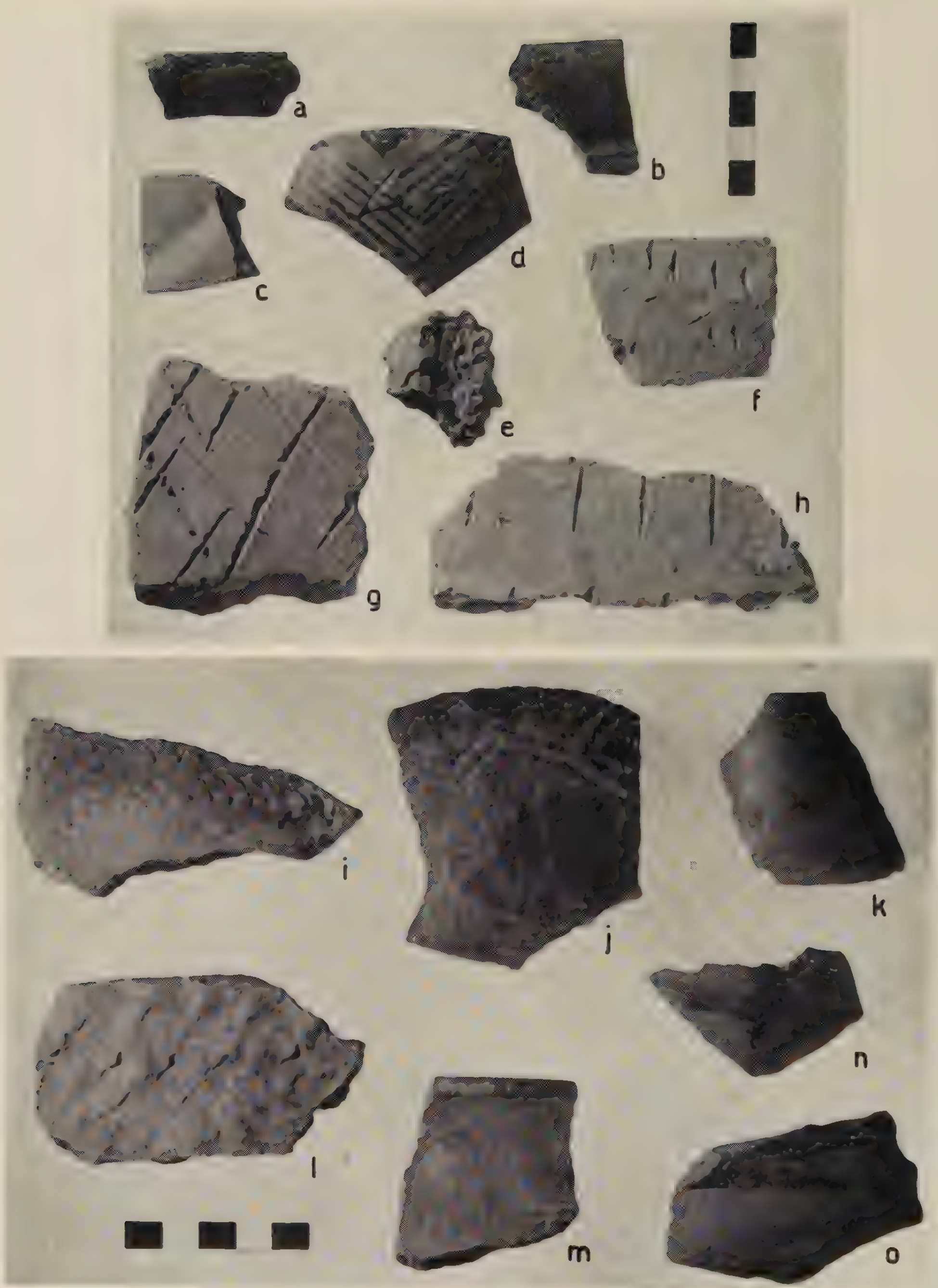
b. The North Quarry



c. The Section in the North Quarry

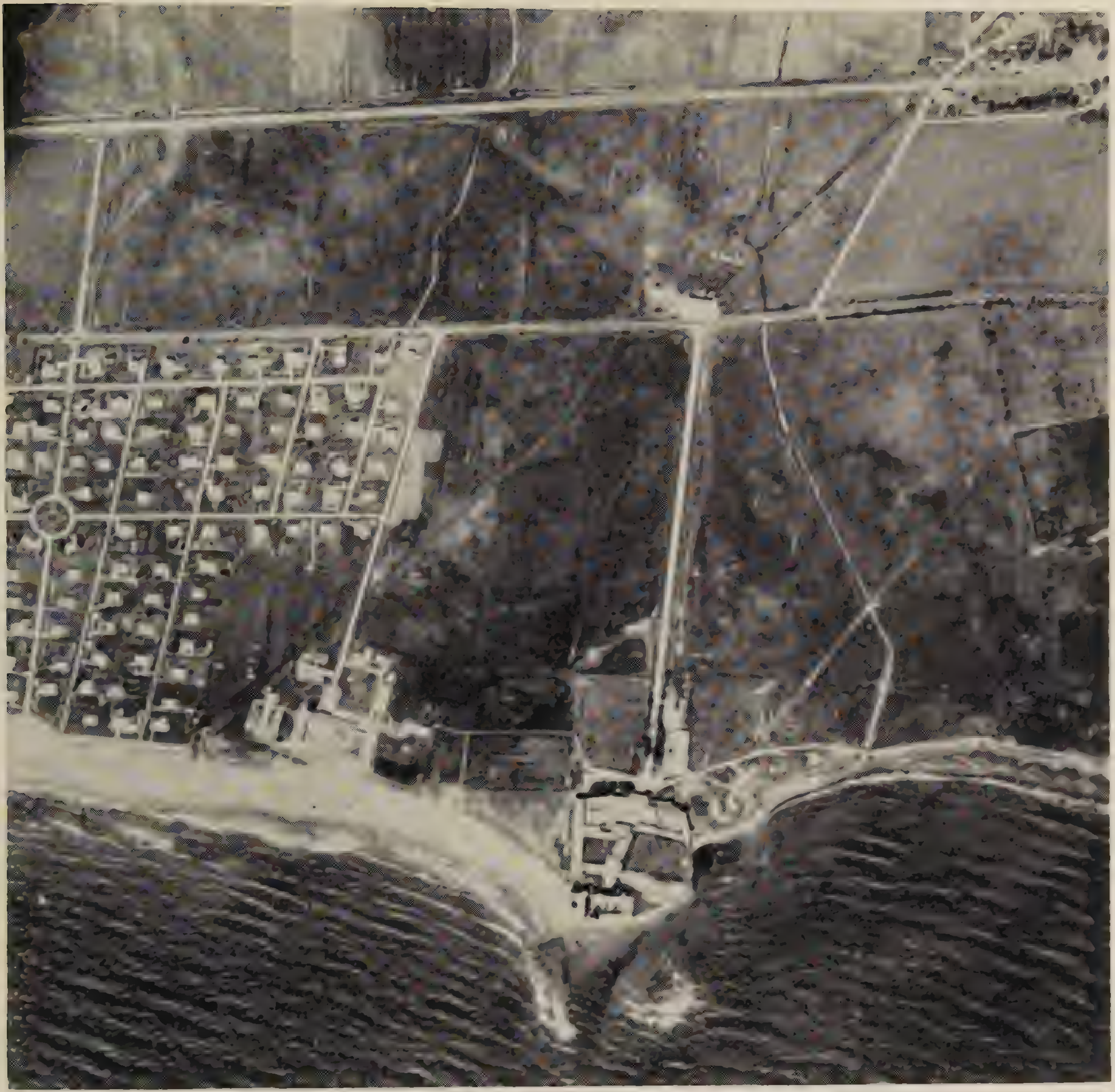
Photos D.H.T.

PLATE II

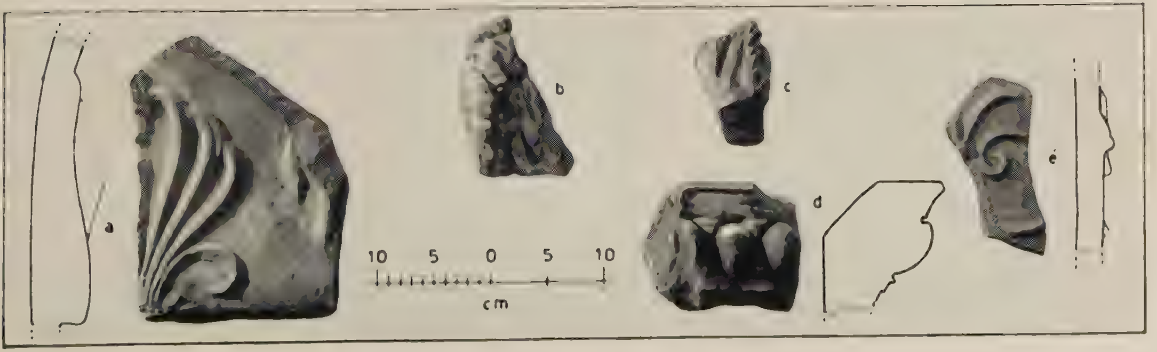


Neolithic Sherds (*a–n*) and Iron Age (*o*) from La Starza; *a–h* from the Section in the North Quarry, *k* and *m* from the Section in F, *i*, *j*, *l*, *n*, and *o* Sporadic. Scale 1:2

(*Photos: British School at Rome*)

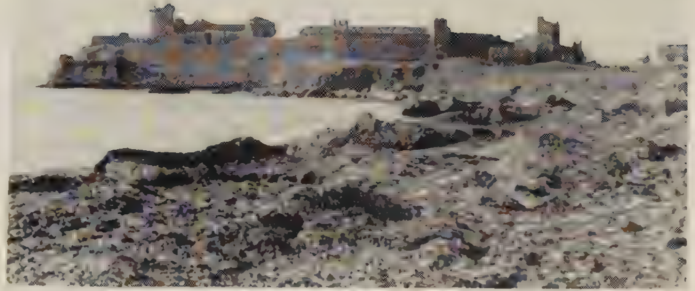


a. Pyrgi (Santa Severa). See Key-plan, p. 17

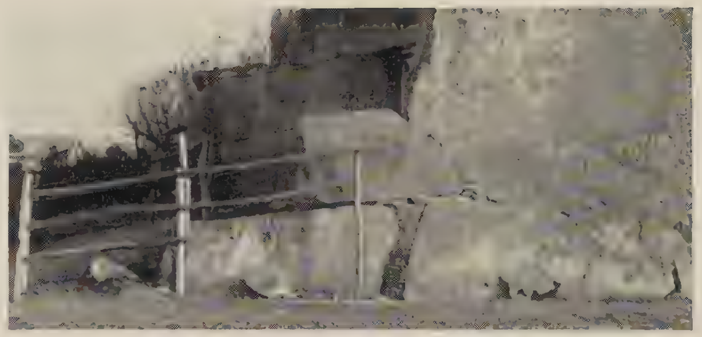


b. Pyrgi : Architectural Terracottas from Villa (Fig. 1, 12) to North (a—d), and (c) from Sea-Shore to East (Fig. 1, 10)

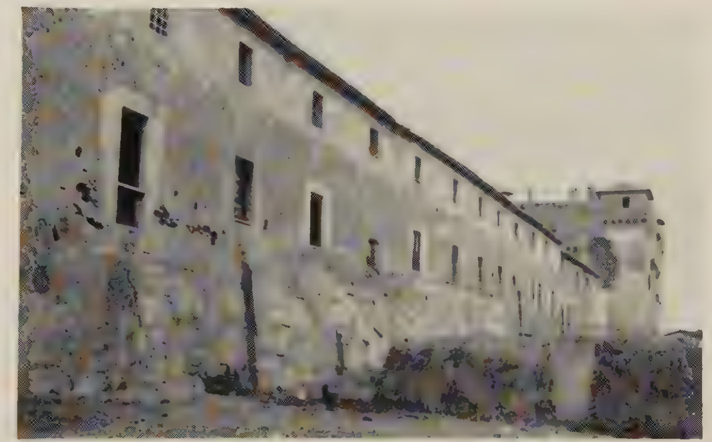
(Photos: a, British Crown Copyright; b, Castagnoli and Cozza)



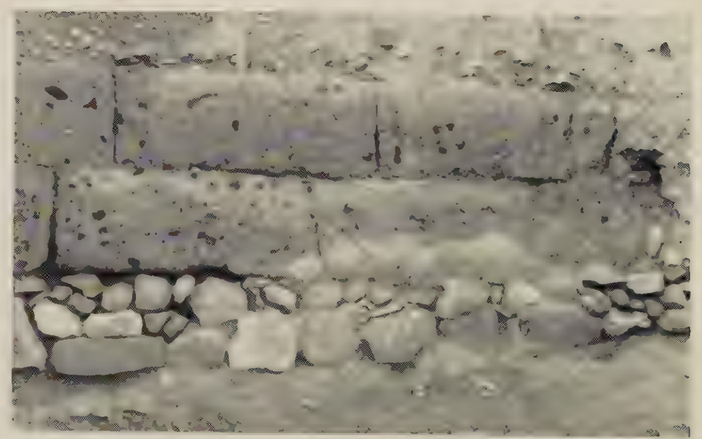
a. The Medieval Fortifications from the East



b. Probable Position of West Gate



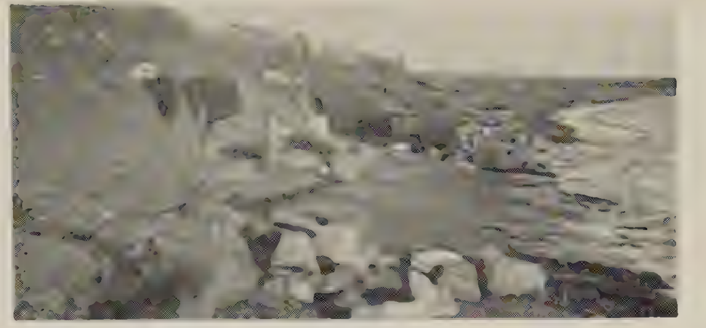
c. The North-West Fortifications of the Medieval Castle, Incorporating Earlier Masonry

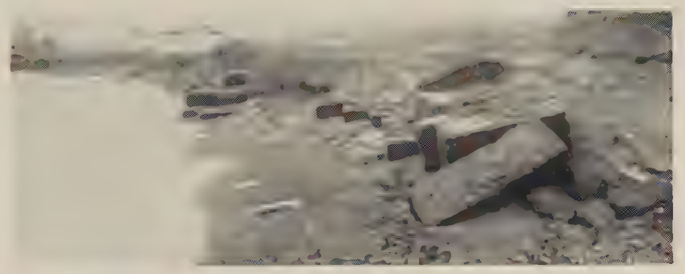


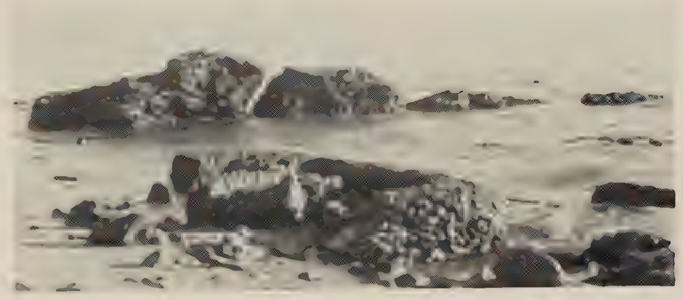
d. Early Masonry on the West Side of the Medieval Circuit

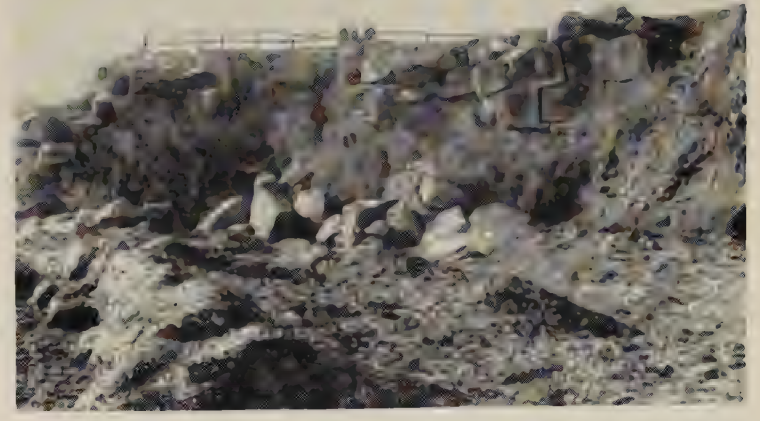
Pyrgi (Santa Severa)

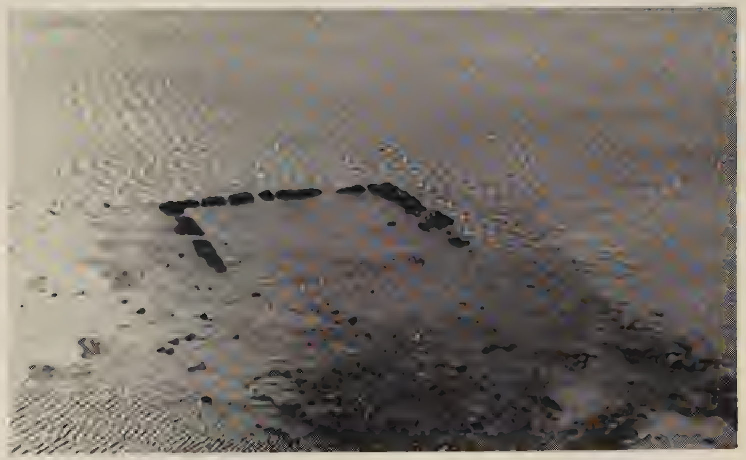
(*Photos: a, b, d, Castagnoli and Cozza; c, N. Neuerburg*)


a. Structures Exposed to the East


b. Structures Exposed to the East


d. Concrete Footings in the Sea

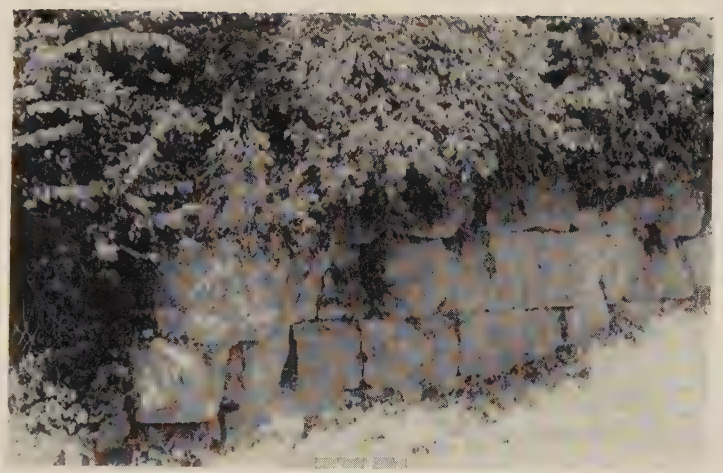

c. Remains of the East Gate


e. Concrete Footings in the Sea

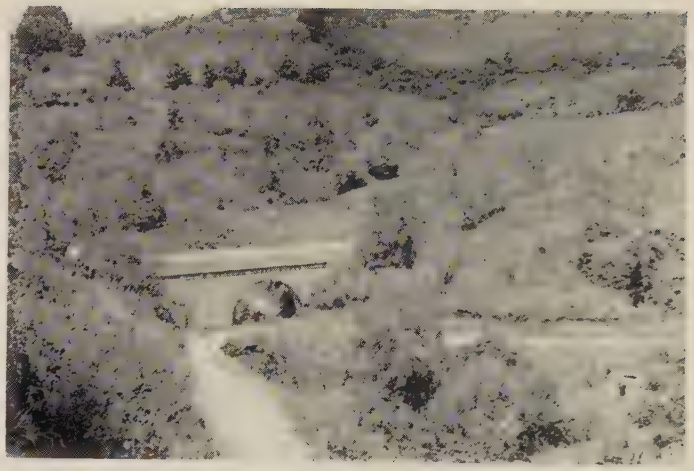
Pyrgi (Santa Severa)

(Photos: Castagnoli and Cozza)

PLATE VI

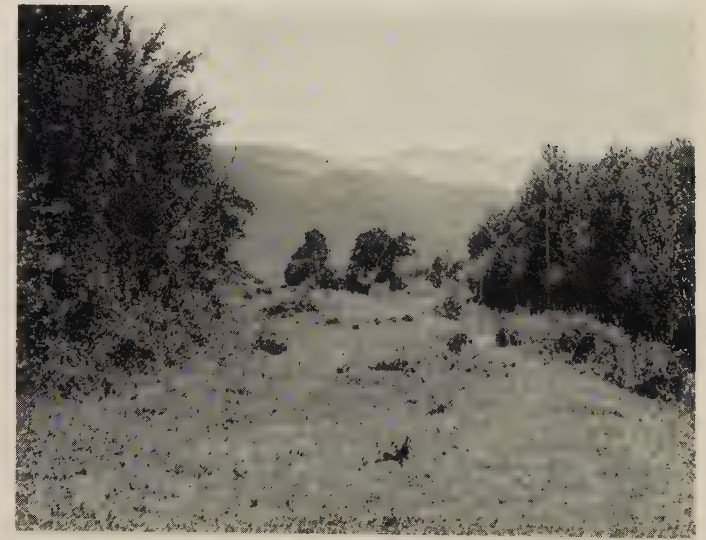


a. Supporting Wall, opposite Castel Madama (Km. 40,2)



b. Beyond Vicovaro (Km. 45,2)

c. Beyond Vicovaro (Km. 45,2)

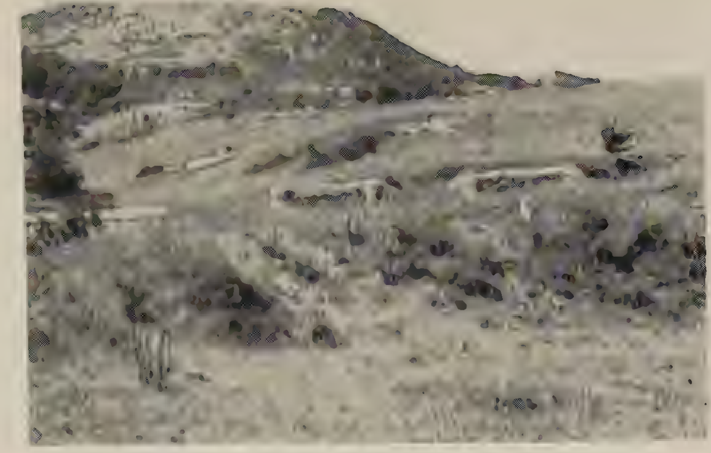


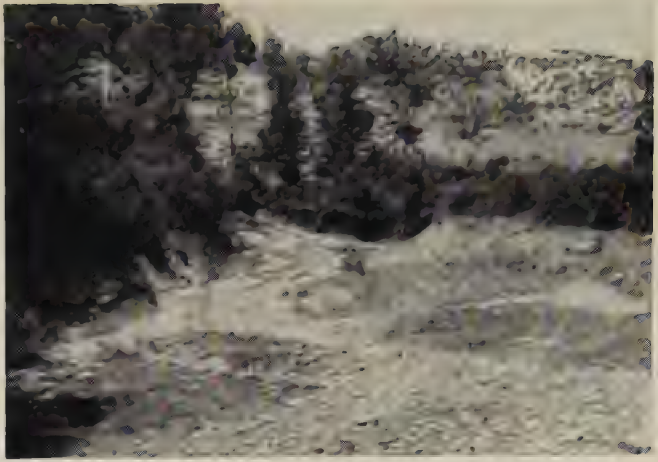
d. The Via Sublaquensis, near Km. 56,7

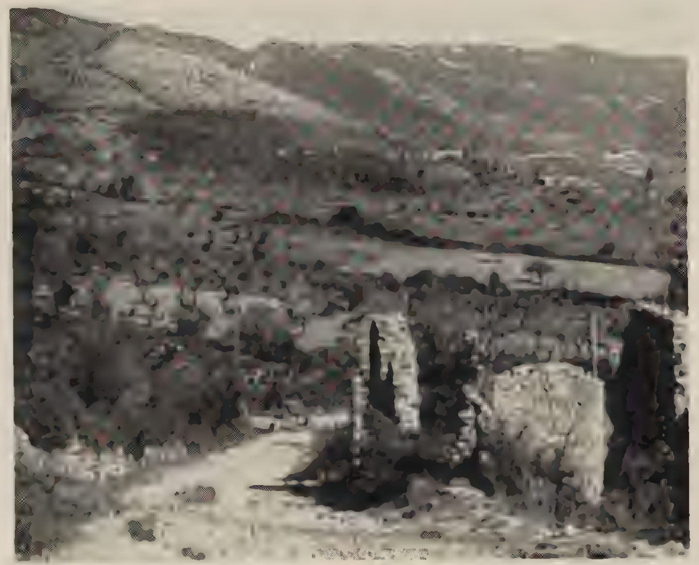
The Via Valeria, in the Aniene Valley

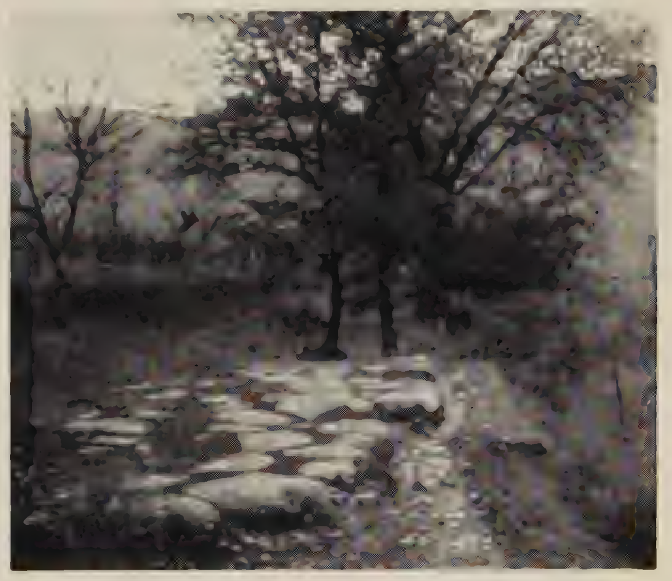
(*Photos: Van Essen*)

PLATE VII


a. Structures North of the Road at Km. 56,7

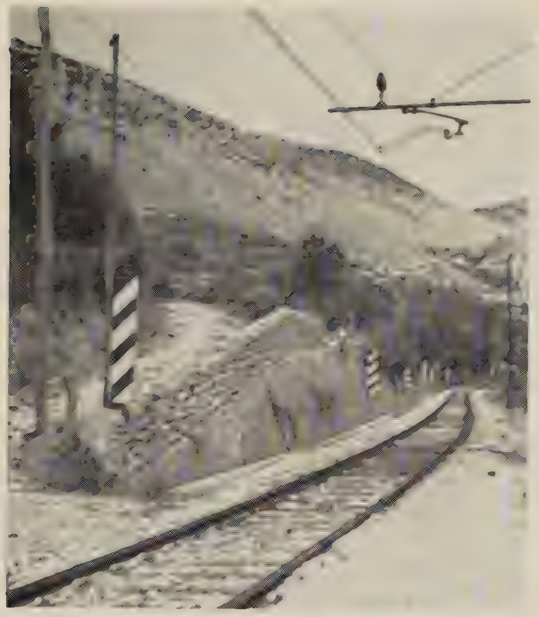

b. In the Bed of the River Turano (Km. 76)


c. Below Arsoli

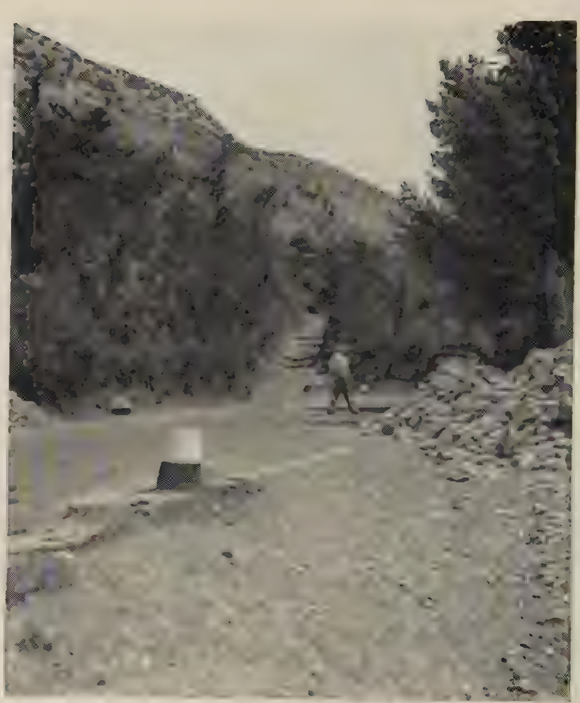

d. At Ponte Scutonico (Km. 57,9)

The Via Valeria, between Vicovaro and Arsoli

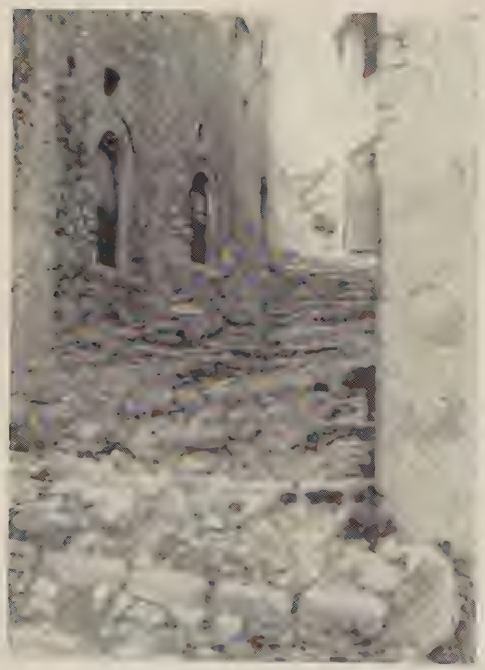
(*Photos: Van Essen*)



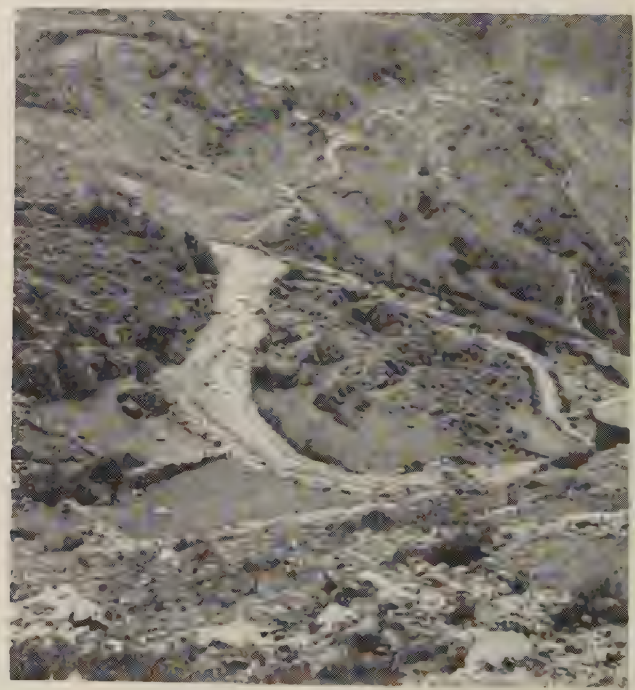
a. Beyond Carsoli (Km. 77,5)



b. Beyond Carsoli (Km. 78,3)



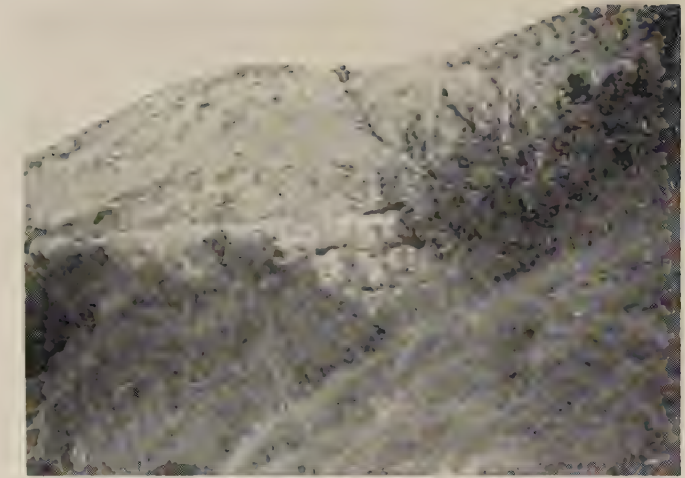
c. In Colli di Monte Bove



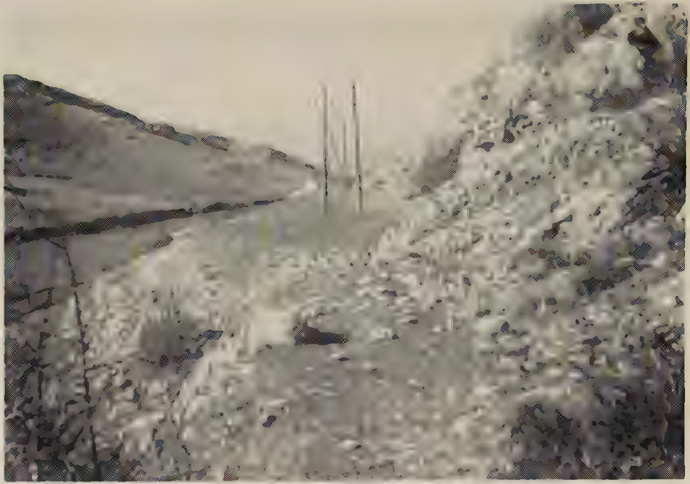
d. Above Colli di Monte Bove

The Via Valeria, beyond Carsoli

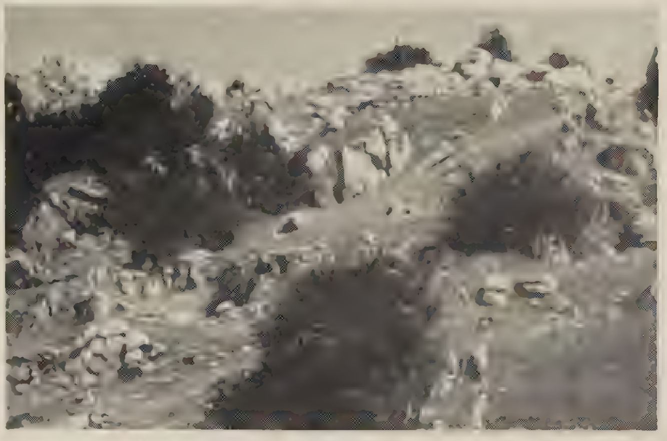
(*Photos: Van Essen*)



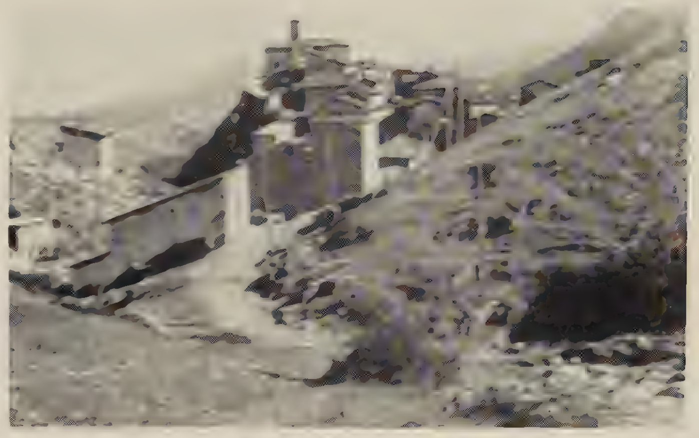
a. Supporting Wall, near Km. 82,0



b. Just Below the Pass (Km. 84,0)



c. Just Below the Pass (Km. 86,0)

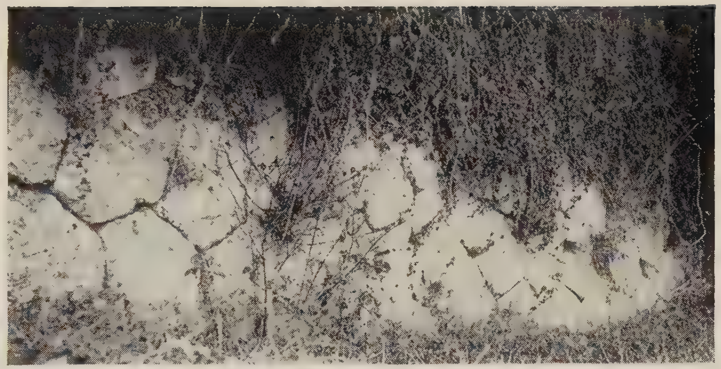


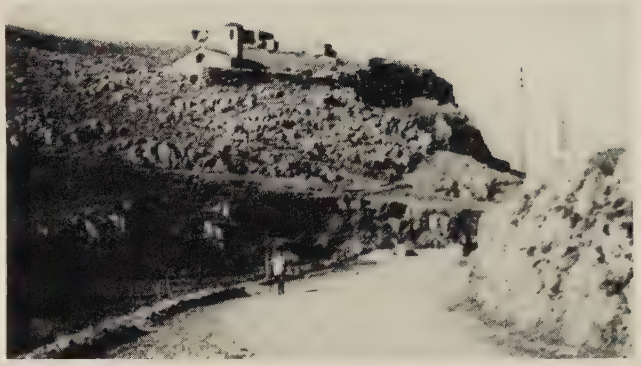
d. At Roccacerro

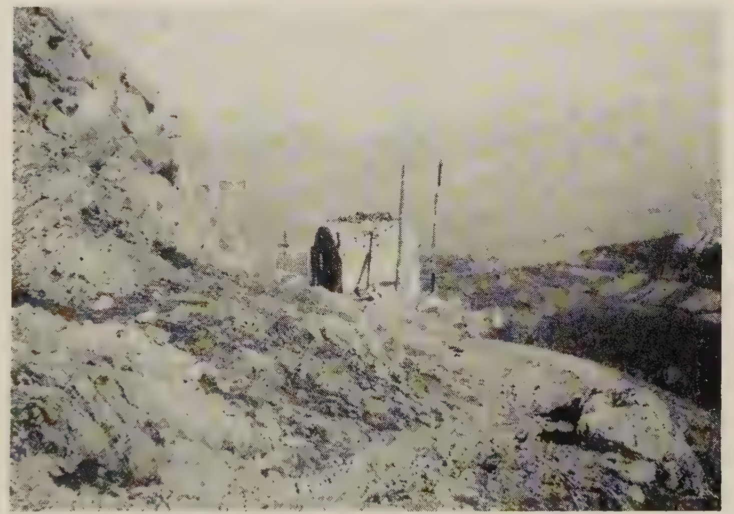
The Via Valeria, at the Passo di Monte Bove

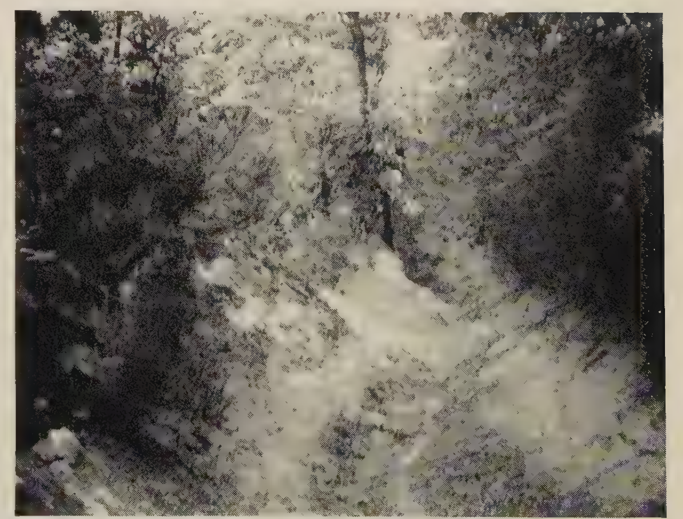
(*Photos: Van Essen*)

PLATE X


a. Supporting Wall, Beyond Roccacerro (Km. 90,0)

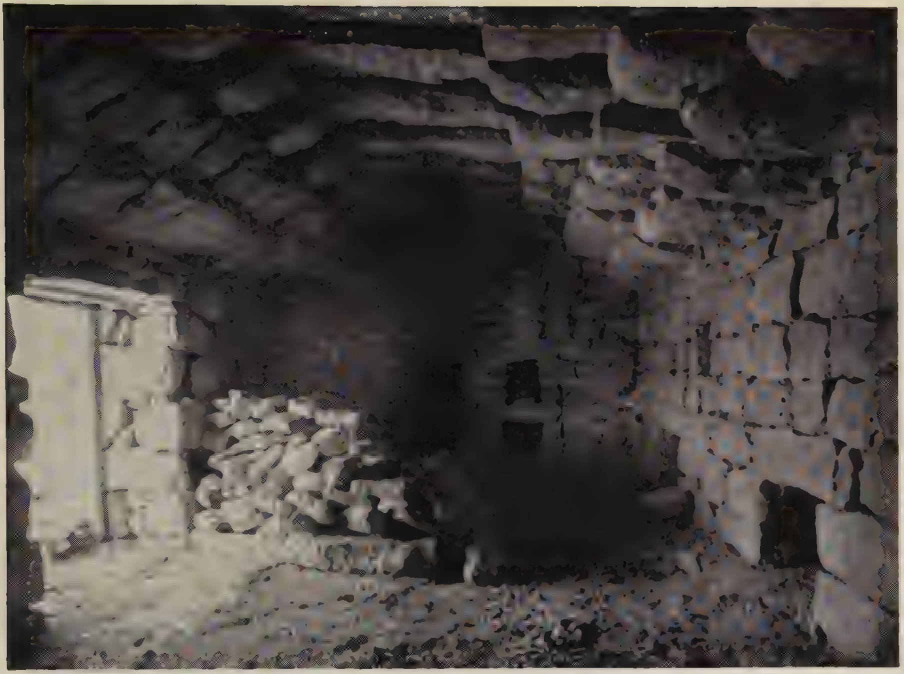

b. Crossing the Via dia Cappadocia


c. Beyond Roccacerro (Km. 90,0)

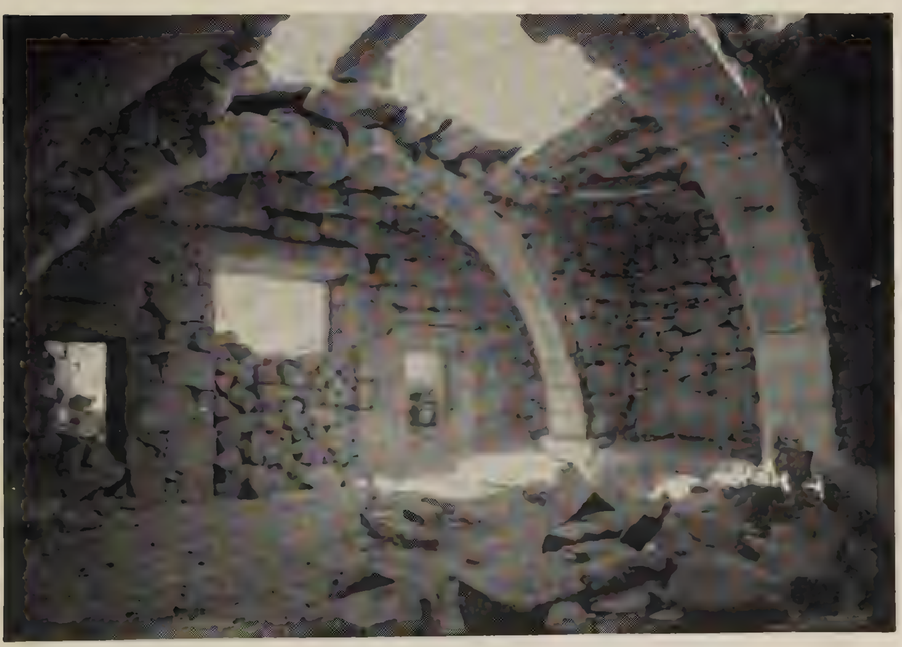

d. Above Tagliacozzo

The Via Valeria, between Passo di Monte Bove and Tagliacozzo

(*Photos: Van Essen*)



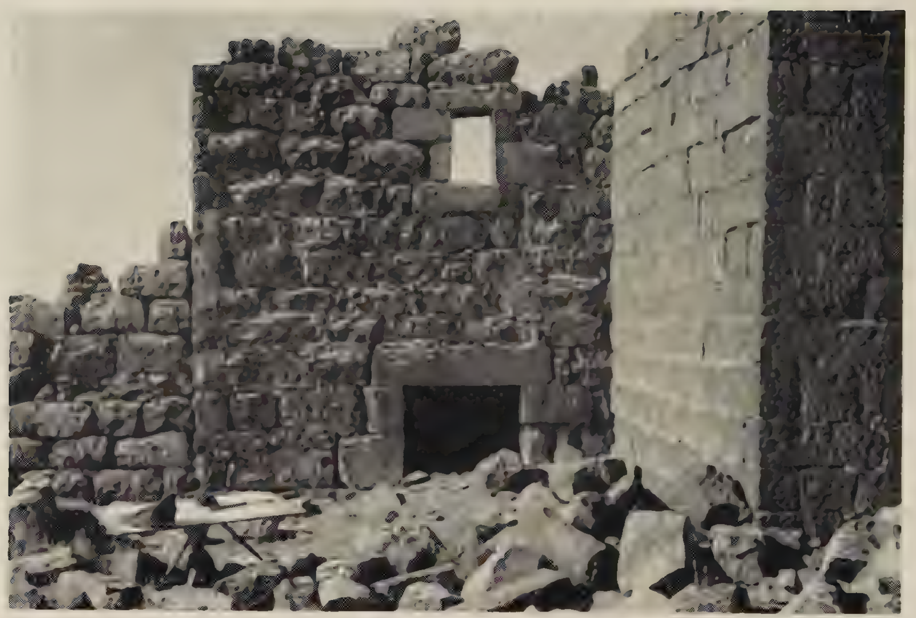
a. Corbelled Hauran Roof



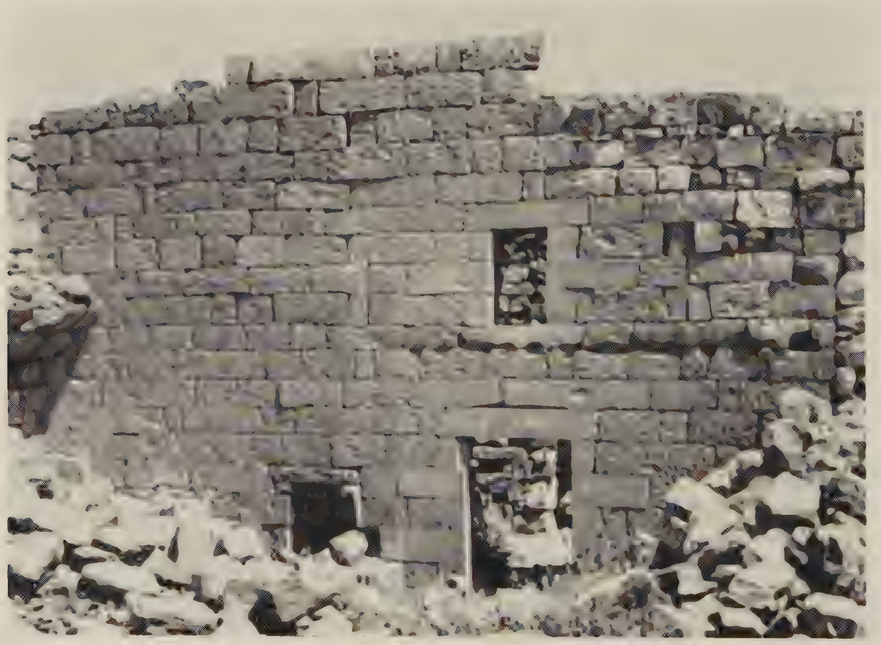
b. Cross-Vaulted Hauran Roof

Umm-el-Jemal

(Photos: Palestine Archaeological Museam)



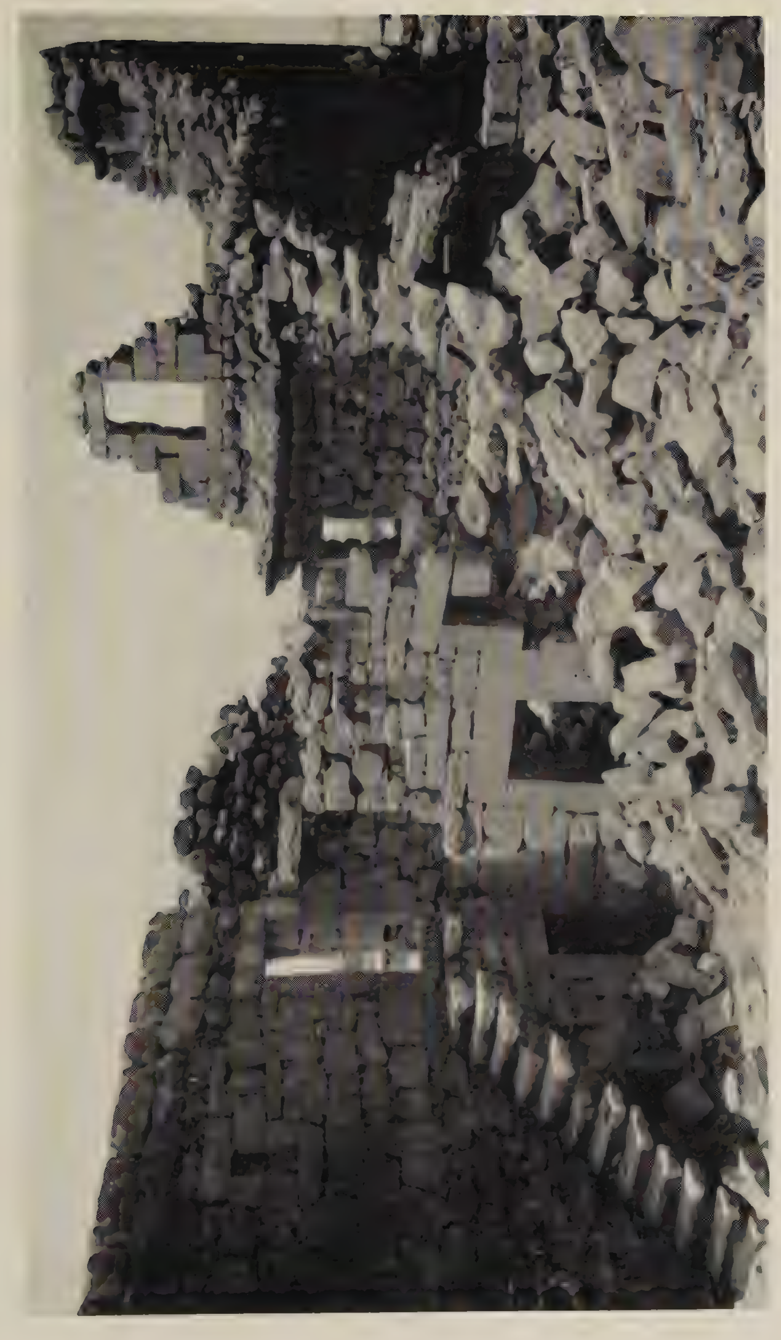
a. HOUSE B, GATEWAY



b. HOUSE B, SOUTH FAÇADE OF BARN

UMM-EL-JEMAL

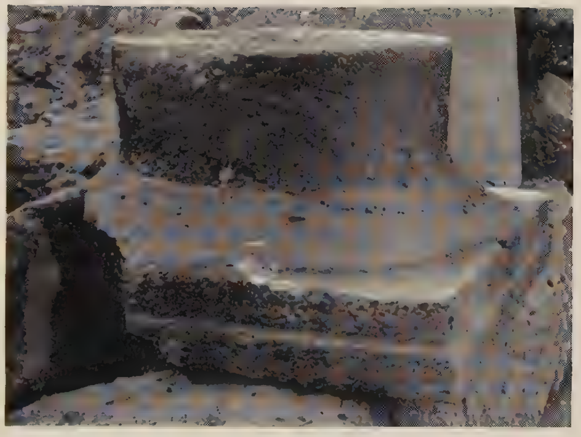
(*Photos: G.U.S.C.*)



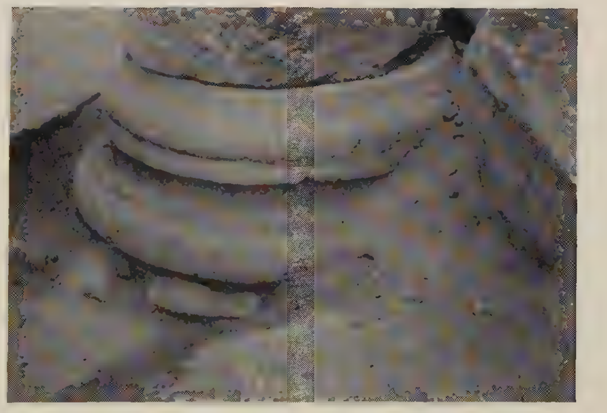
Umm-el-Jemal. House C, Courtyard

Phot. G.U. [illegible]

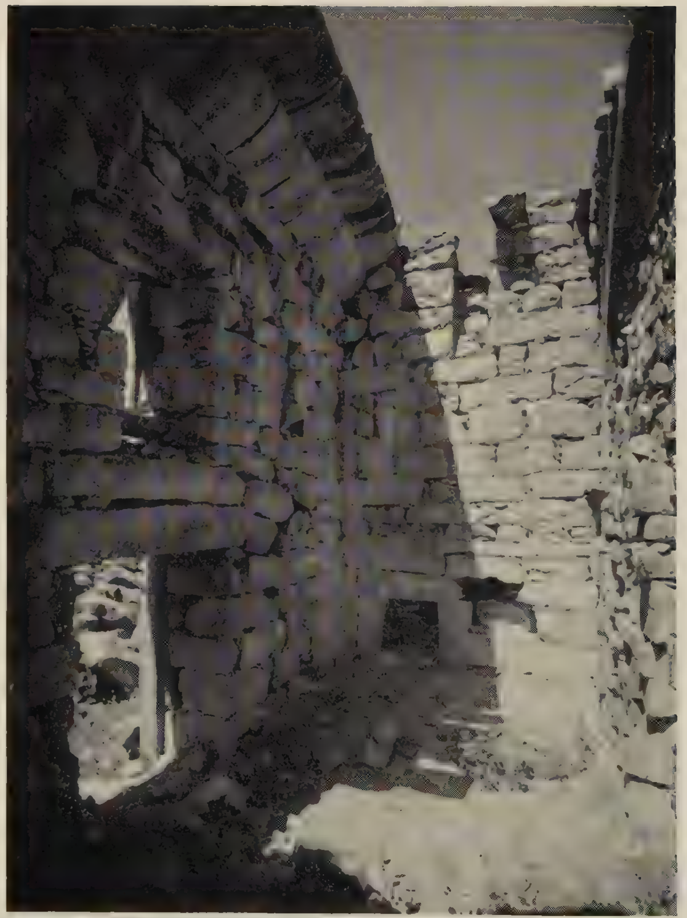
PLATE XIV



a. Capital



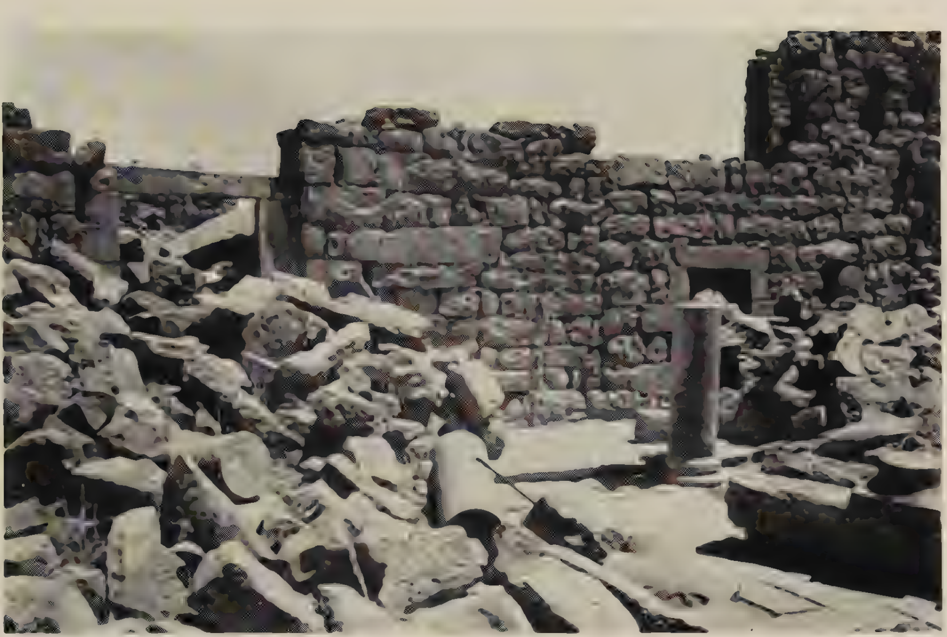
b. Base



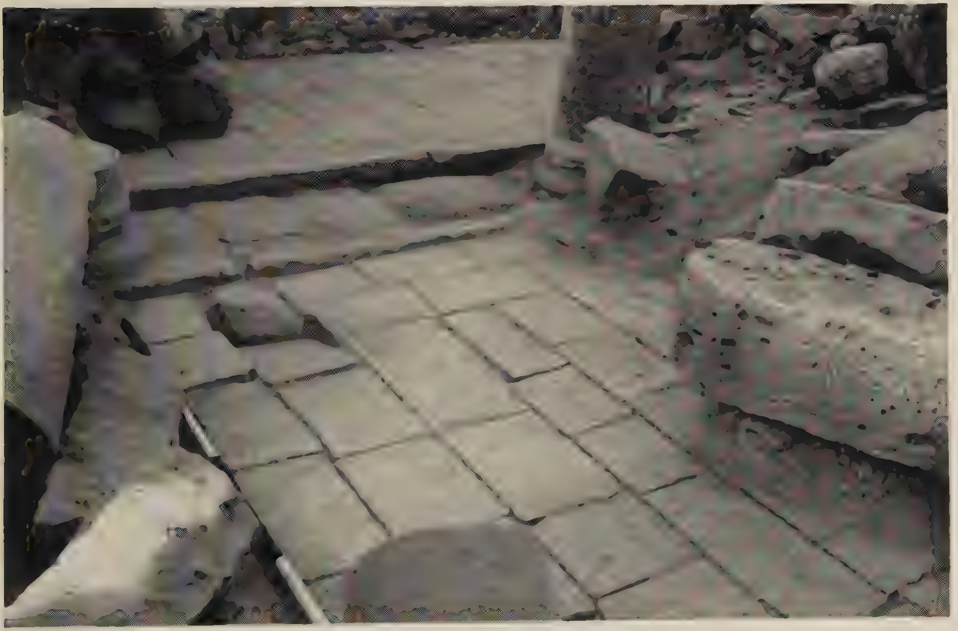
c. House B, Interior of Barn

Umm-el-Jemal

(*Photos: G.U.S.C.*)



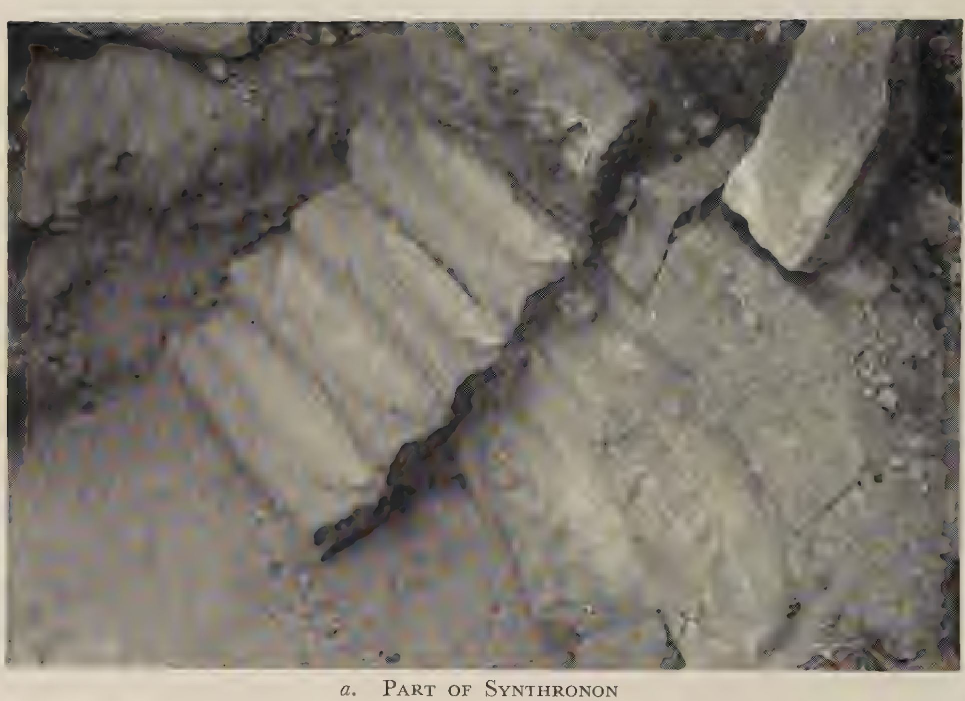
a. Church: South Façade of Nave



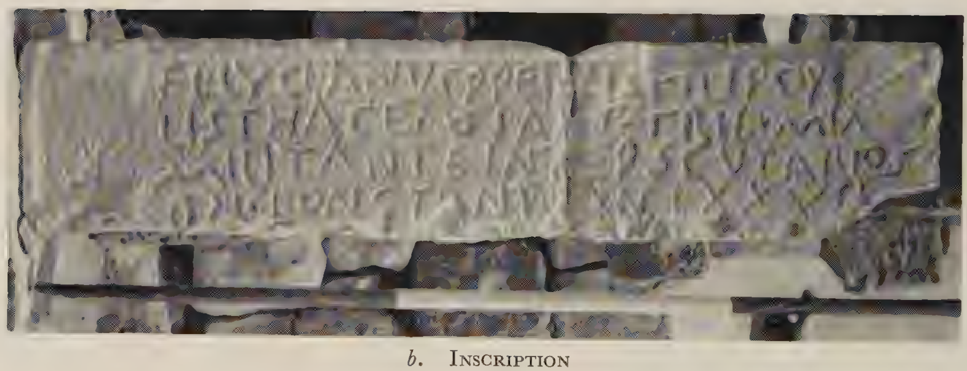
b. Pavement of Courtyard

Umm-el-Jemal

(Photos: G.U.S.C.)



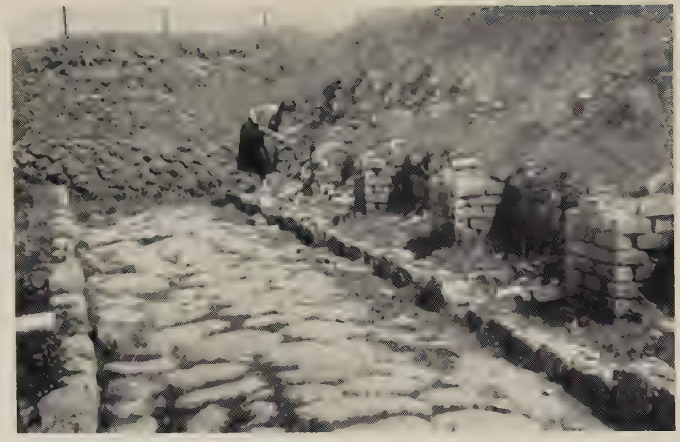
a. Part of Synthronon



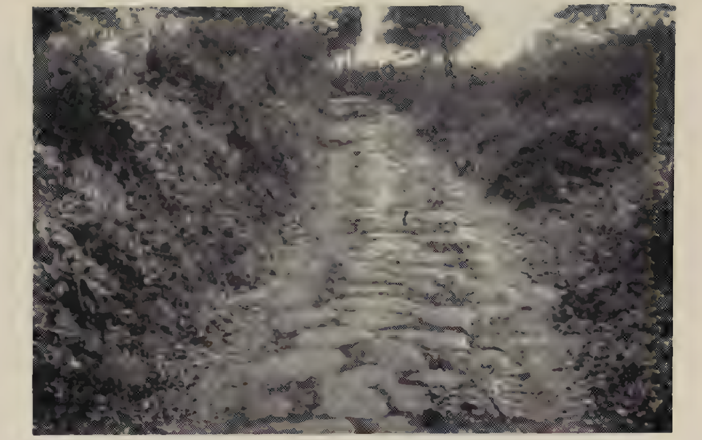
b. Inscription

Umm-el-Jemal

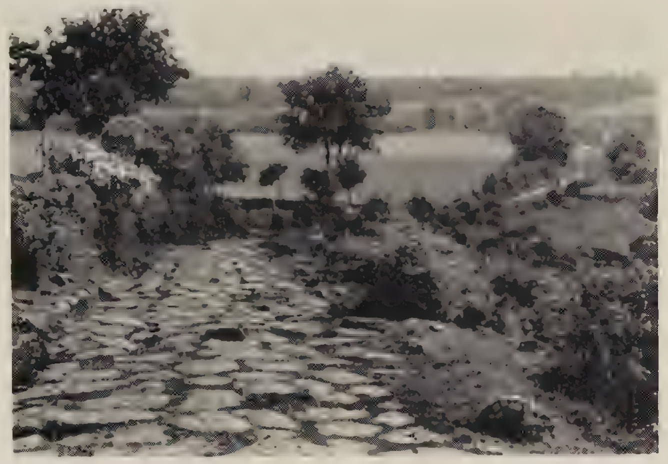
(*Photos: G.U.S.C.*)



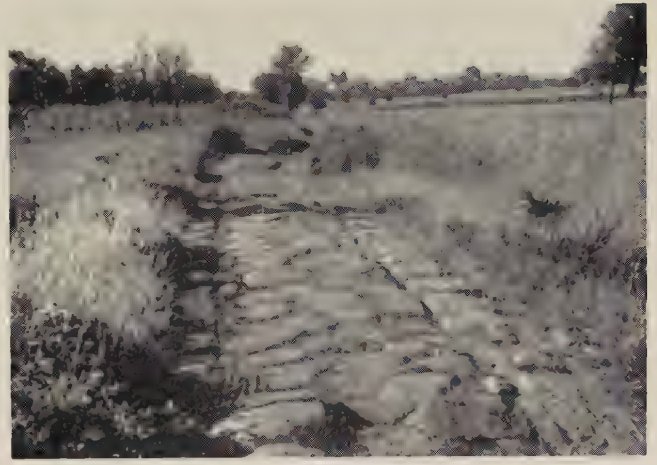
a. Near Campagnano



b. Descending to the Valle Coaro



c. Looking Southwards from Cascinone.

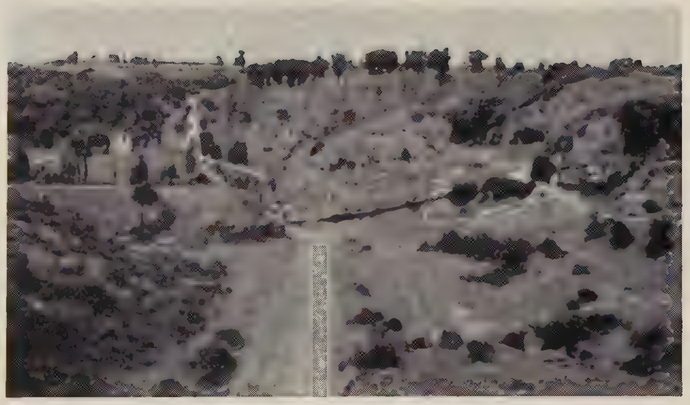


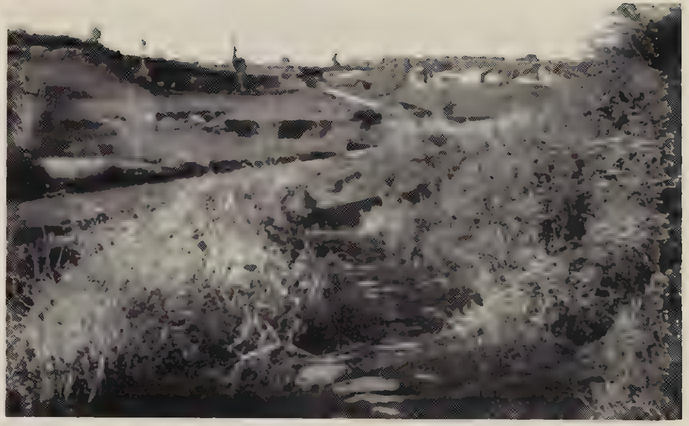
d. North-West of Corchiano

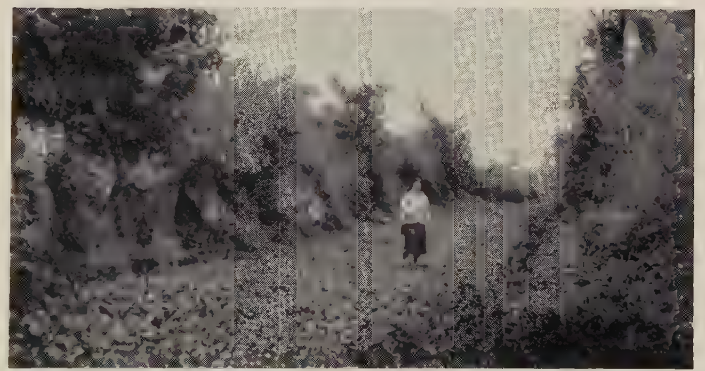
The Via Amerina

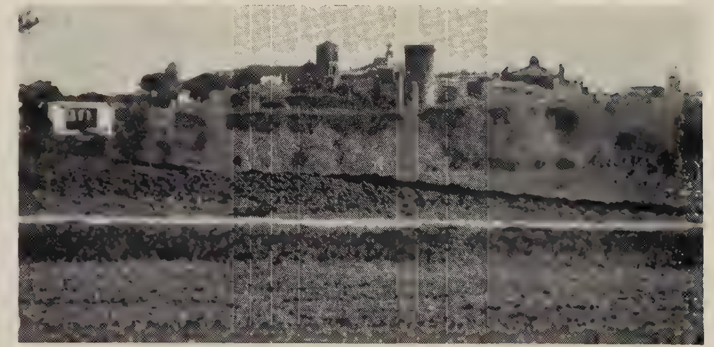
(*Photos. J. B. W. P.*)

PLATE XVIII


a. The Via Amerina at Ponte Nepesino

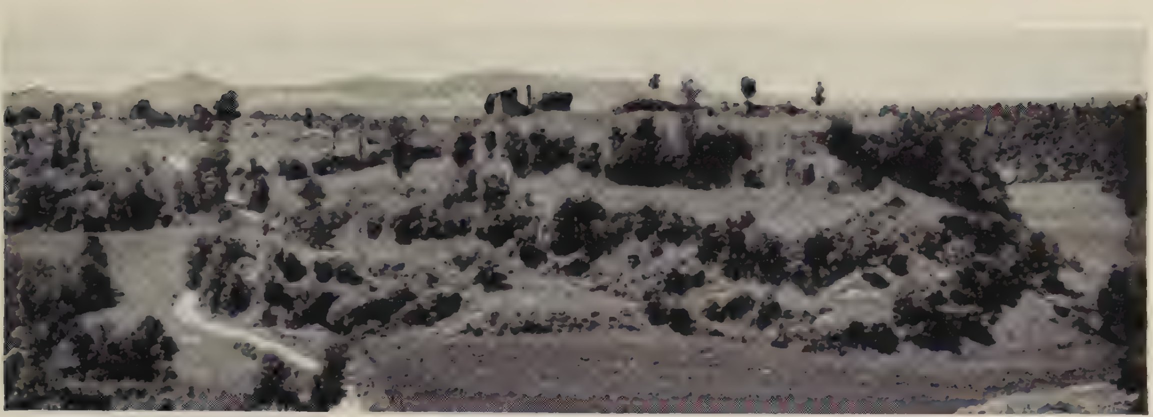

b. The Via Amerina at Ponte Presso


c. The Ancient Road from Nepi to Sutri

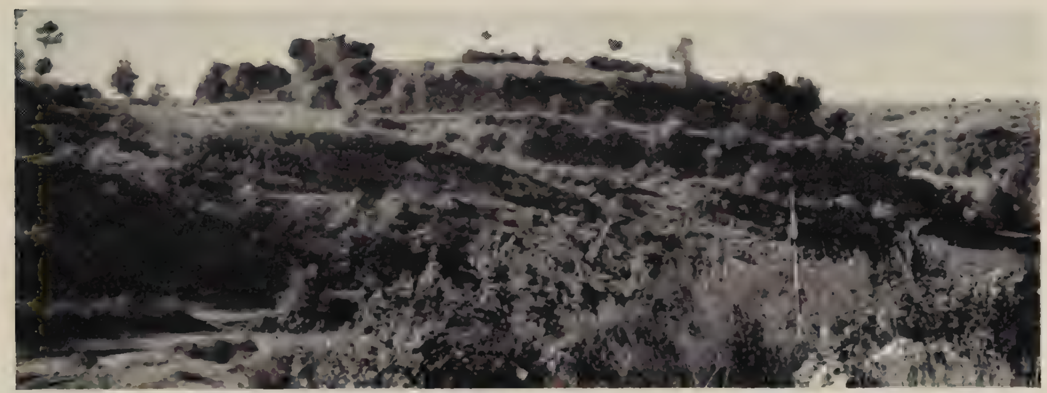

d. Nepi, from the West

(*Photos: J. B. W. P.*

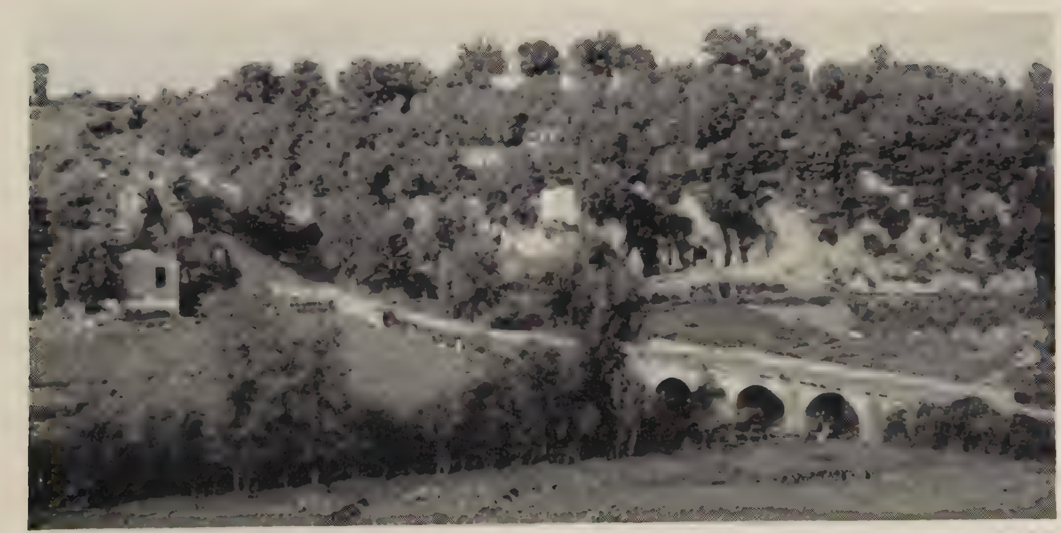
PLATE XIX



a. The Castle Hill from the East *J. B. W. P.*

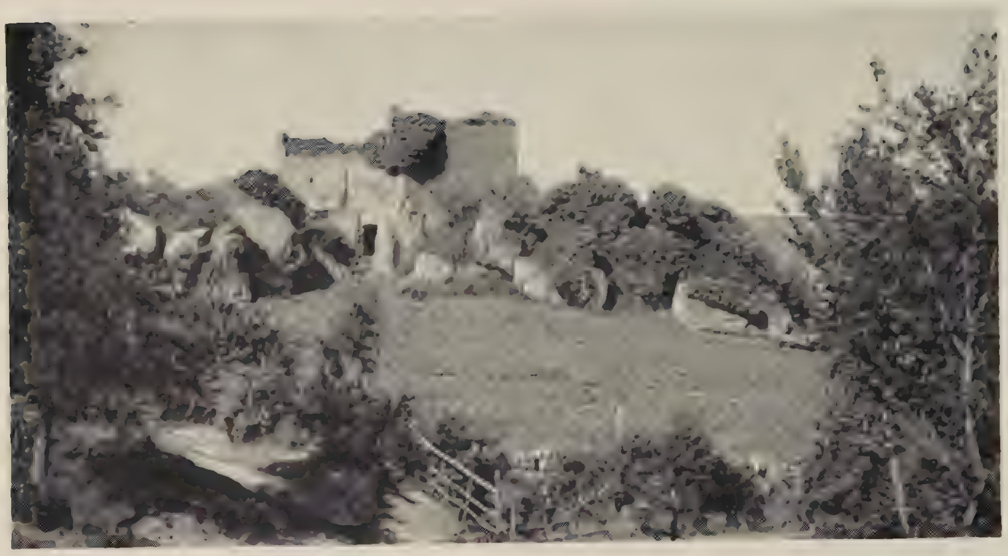


b. The Castle Hill from the South *(M. R. G.)*

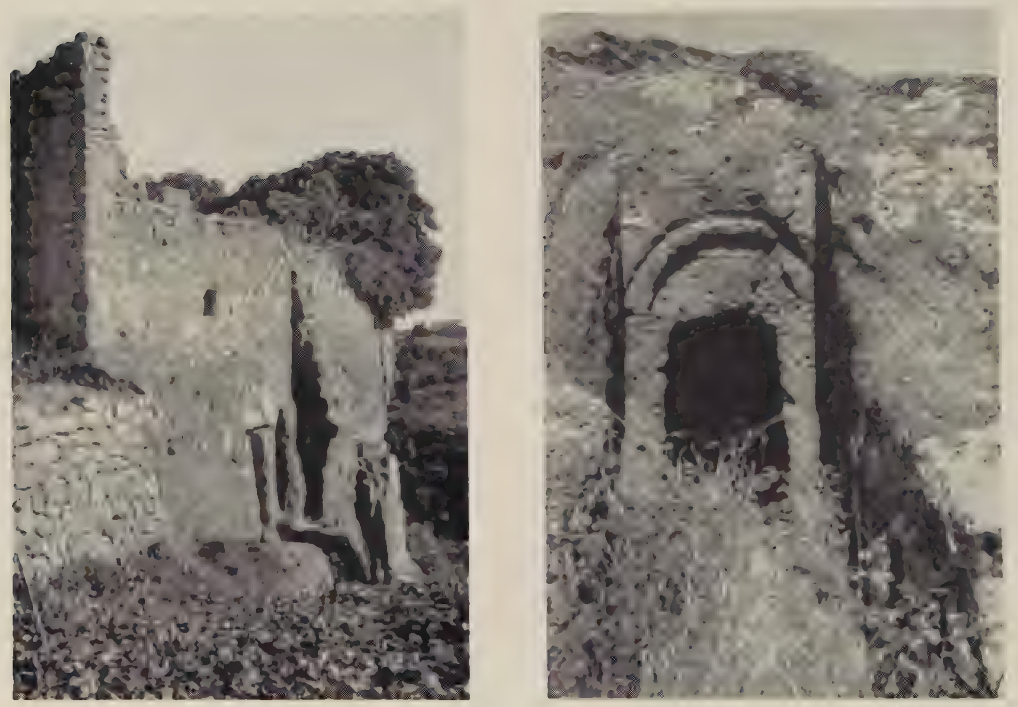


c. The Bridge and its Northern Approaches. *J. B. W. P.*

The Via Amerina at Ponte Nepesino



a. The Castle from the South-West

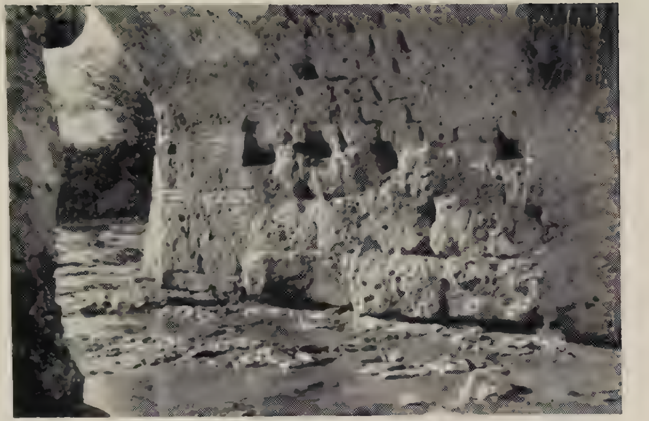


b. The Castle Entrance

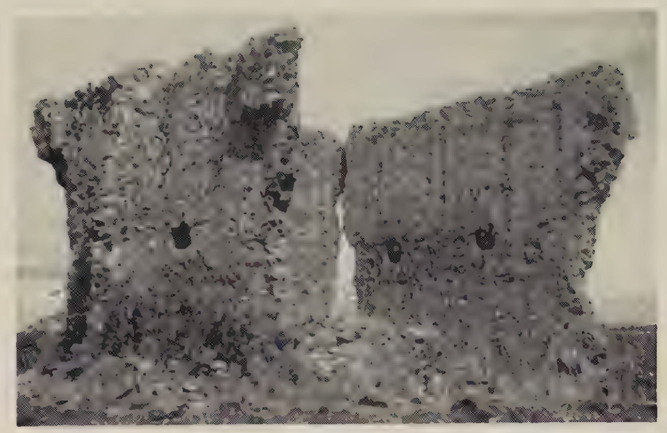
c. Faliscan Tomb (cf. pl. XXXIII, *a*)

Ponte Nepesino

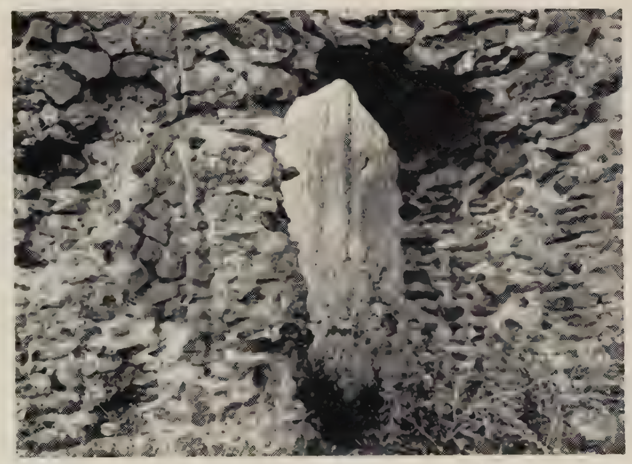
(*Photos: a, M. R. G* [illegible] *J. B. W. P.*



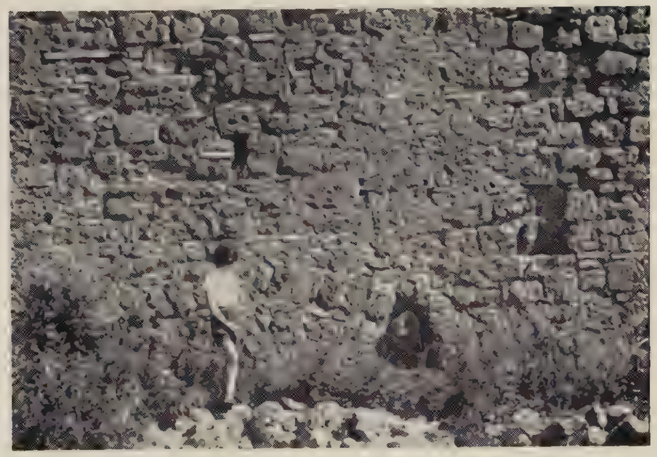
a. Ponte Nepesino : Roman Masonry



b. Roman Building near Casale il Cascinone



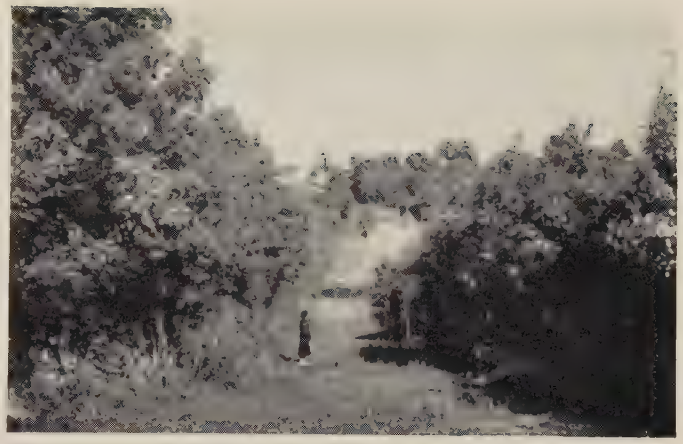
c. Roman Cistern near Casale l'Umiltà

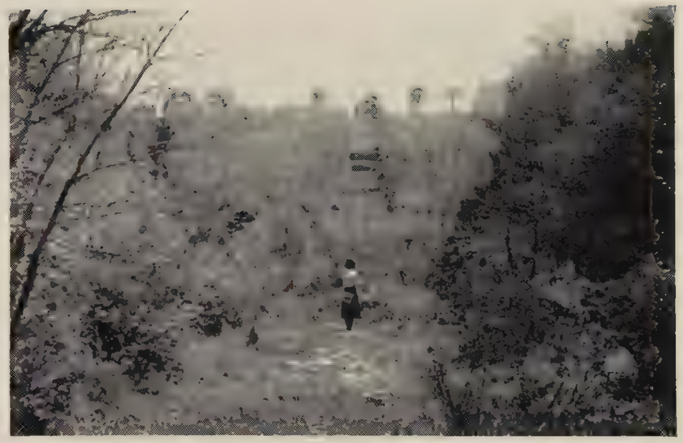


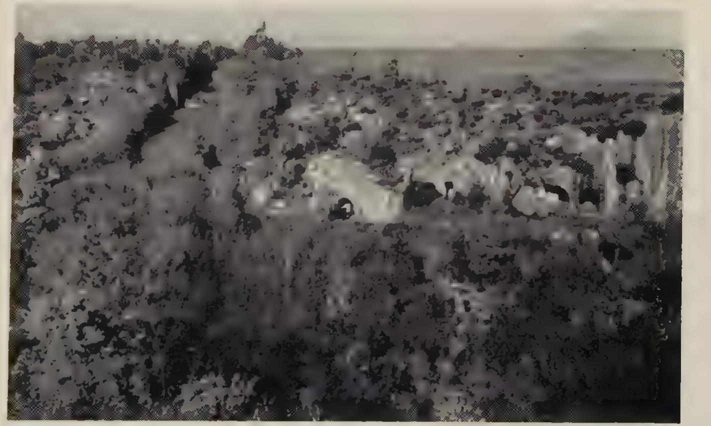
d. Ponte Nepesino, the Castle : Detail of Masonry

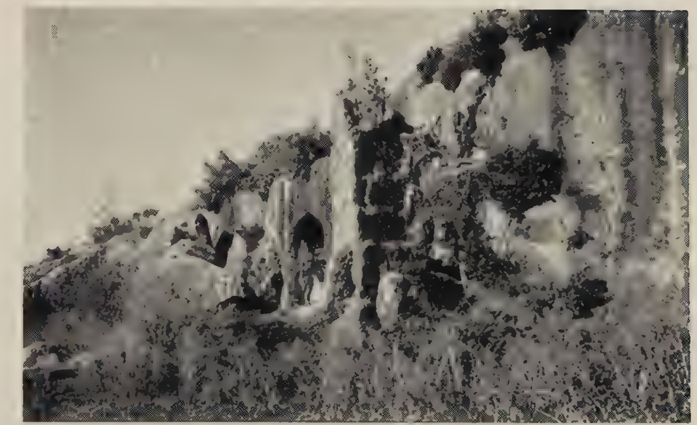
(*Photos* J. B. W. P.)

PLATE XXII


a. At the Rio Vicano


b. At the Fossitello

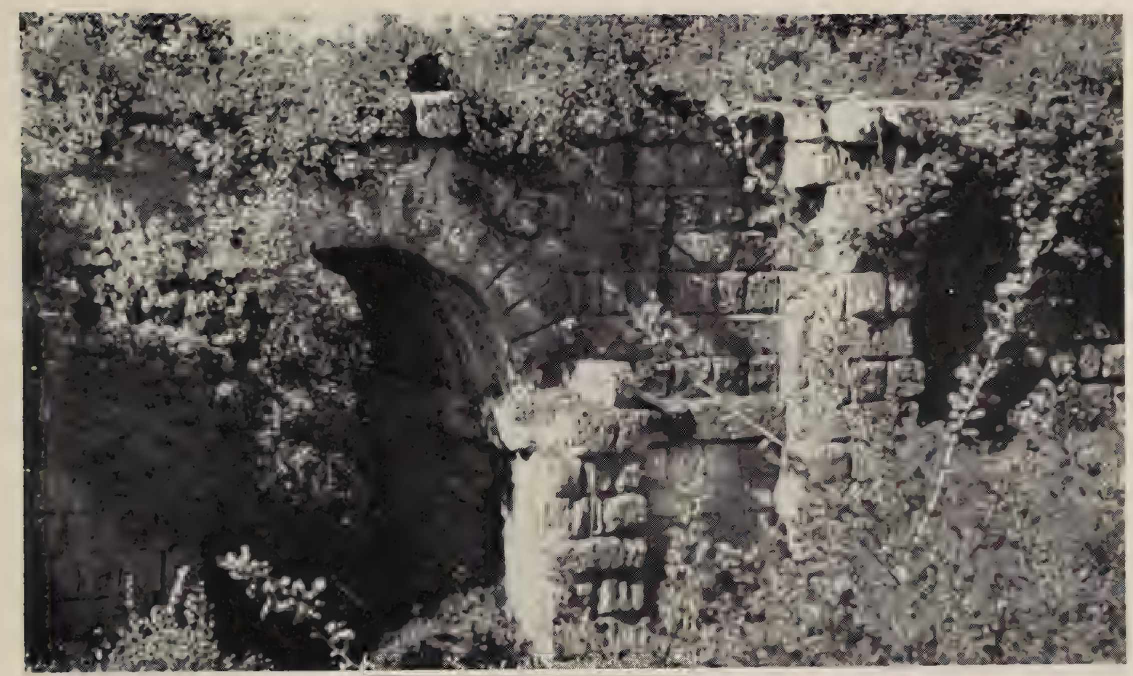

c. At the Fosso Maggiore


d. Quarries beside the Fosso Maggiore

The Via Amerina between Nepi and Falerii Novi

(*Photos: J. B. W. P.*)

PLATE XXIII



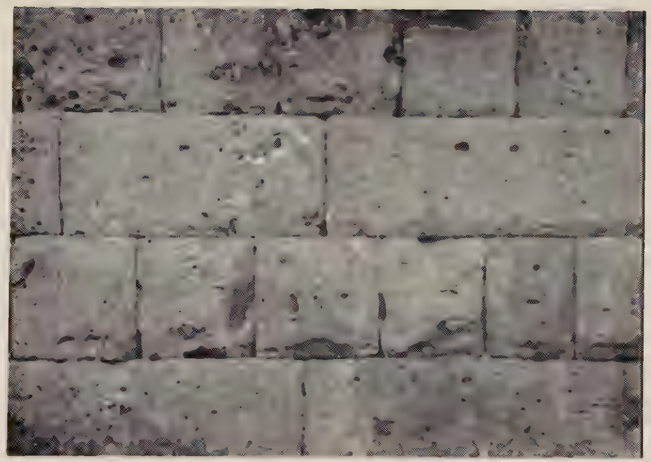
a. Roman Bridge over the Fosso Tre Ponti

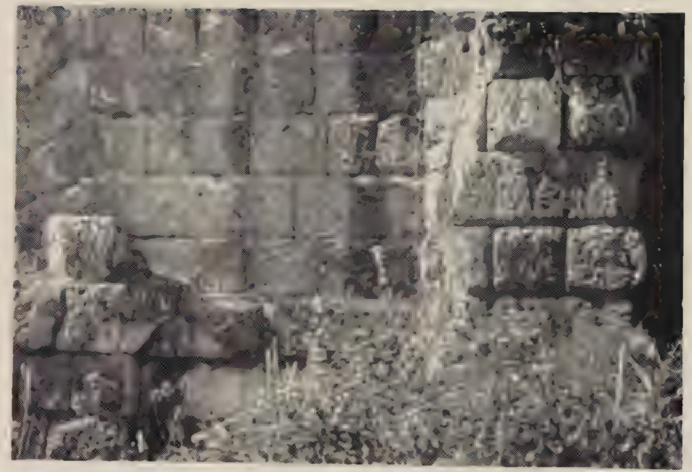
b. The Same : Interior of Arch

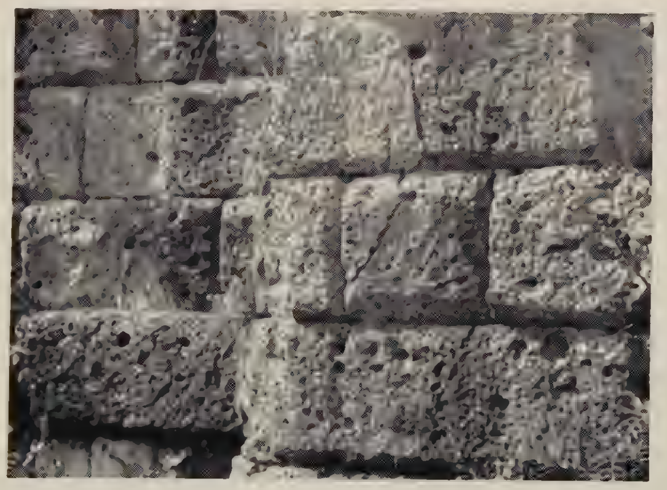
(Photos: a, G. U. S. Corbett; b, c, J. B. W. P.)

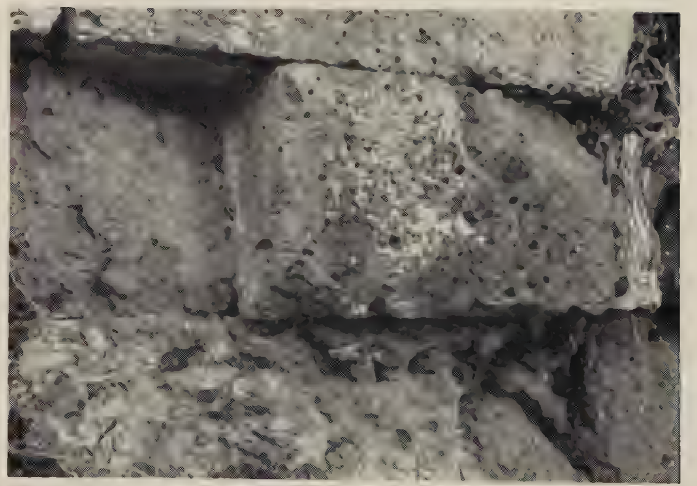
c. Roman Bridge over the Fosso Maggiore

PLATE XXIV


a. Roman Bridge over the Fosso Tre Ponti:
Detail of Masonry

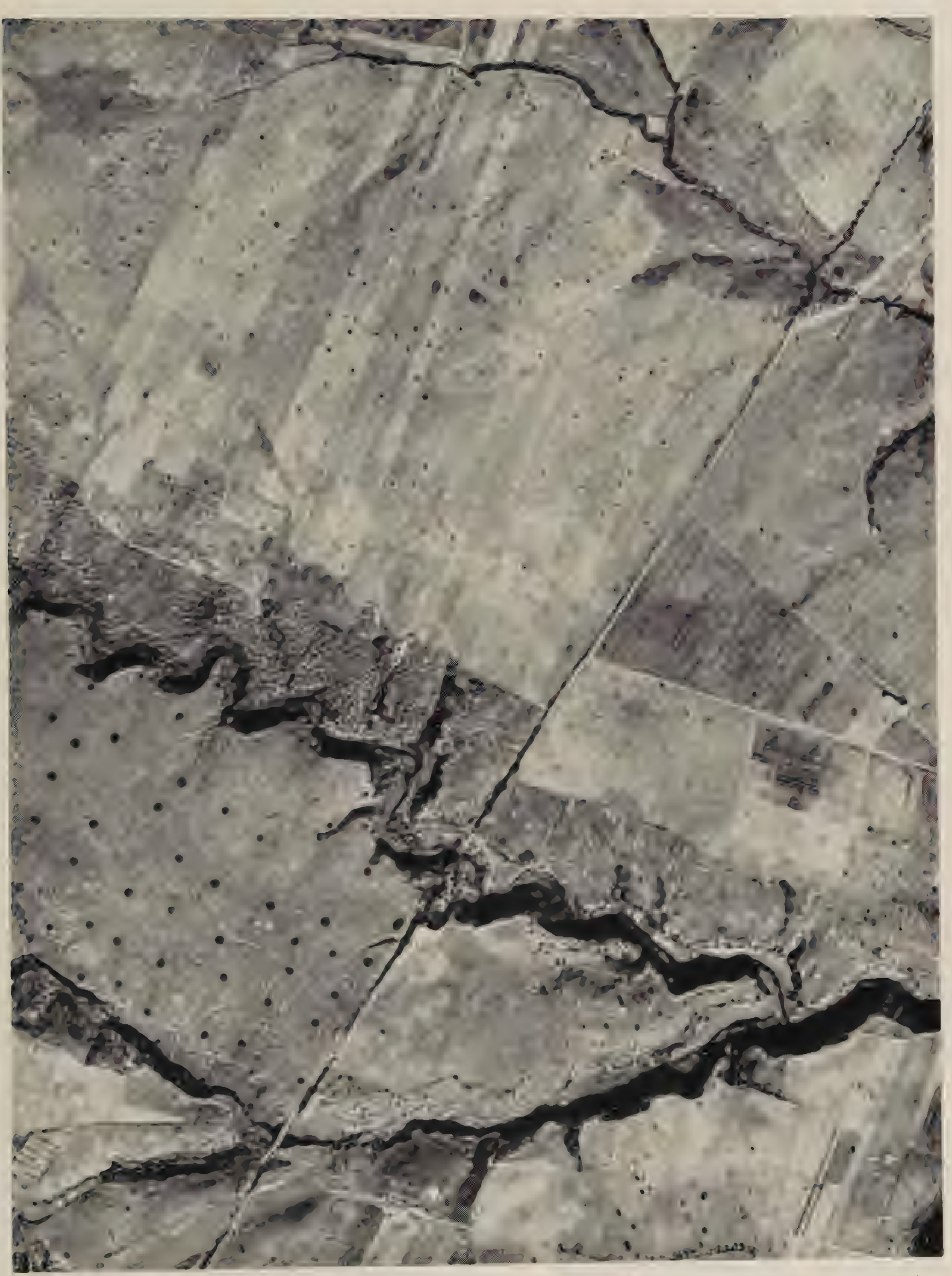

b. The Same


c. The Same


d. Roman Bridge over the Fosso Maggiore:
Masonry of Second Period

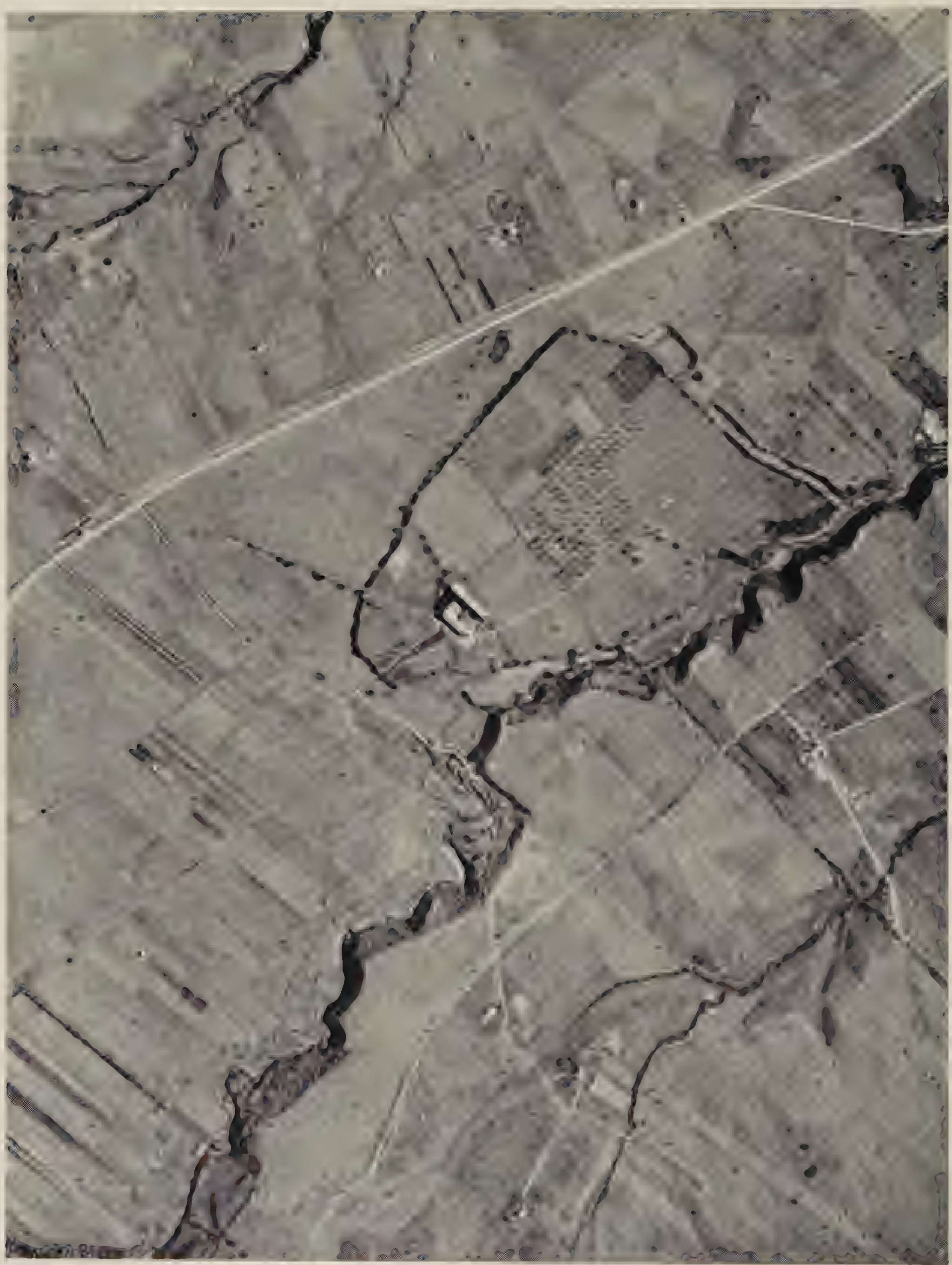
(*Photo. J. B. W. P.*)

PLATE XXV



The Via Amerina South of Falerii Novi (cf. fig. 14, p. 105). Scale, 1:10,000 (Approx.)

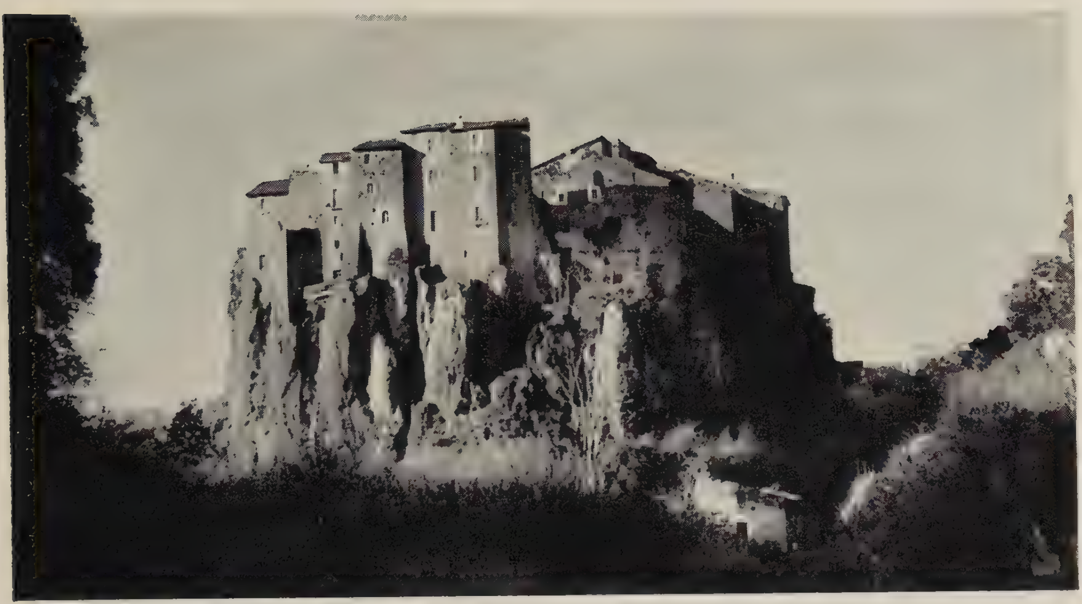
(British Crown Copyright: by permission of the Air Ministry)



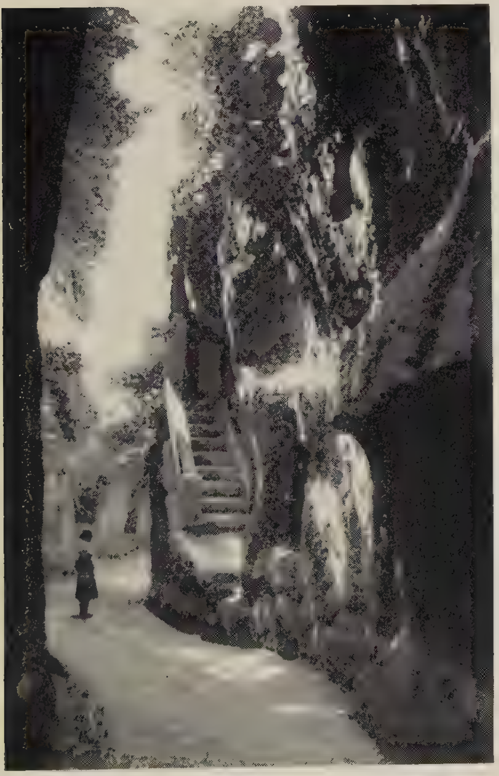
Falerii Novi (cf. fig. 26, p. 156). Scale, 1:12,500 (Approx.)

(British Crown Copyright: by permission of the Air Ministry)

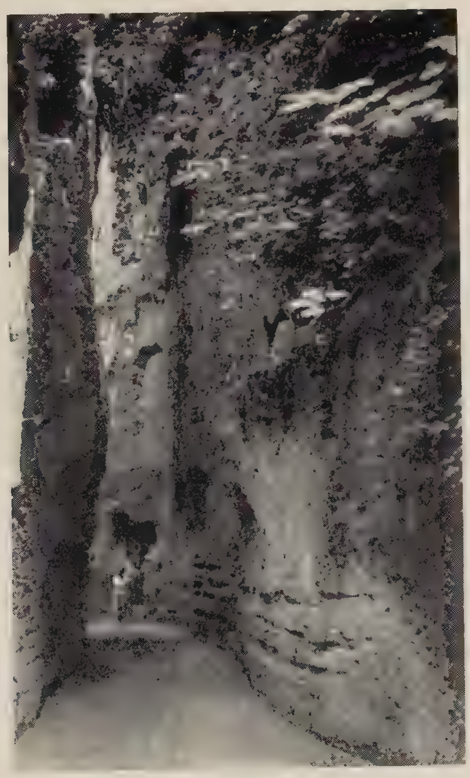
PLATE XXVII



a. Medieval Village on the Site of the Ancient Citadel



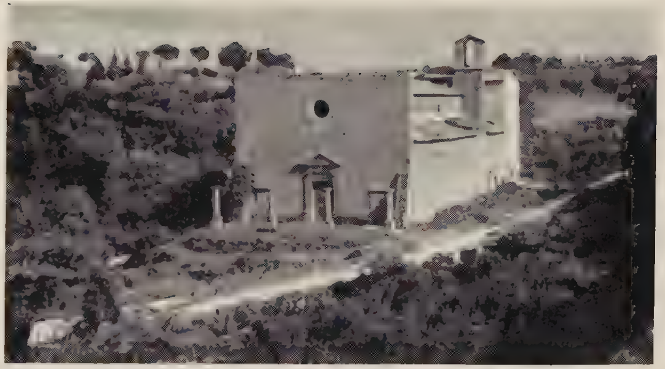
b. Ancient Road below S. Egidio



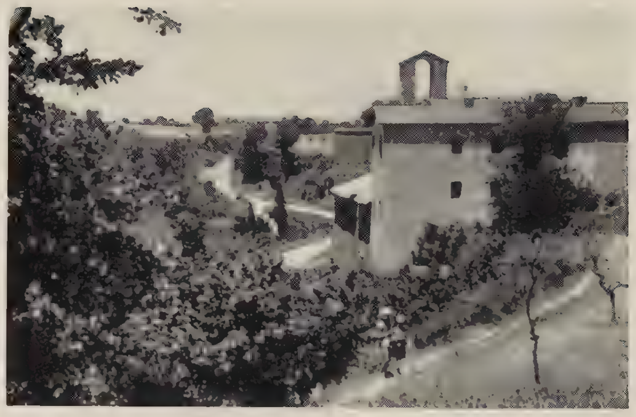
c. Ancient Road to Civita Castellana

(*Photos: J. B. W. P.*)

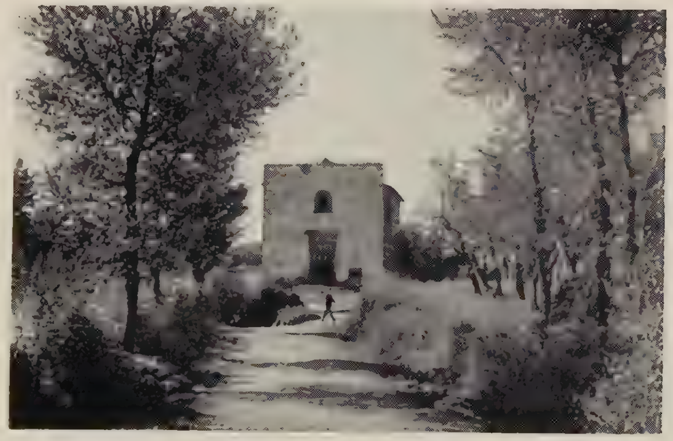
Corchiano



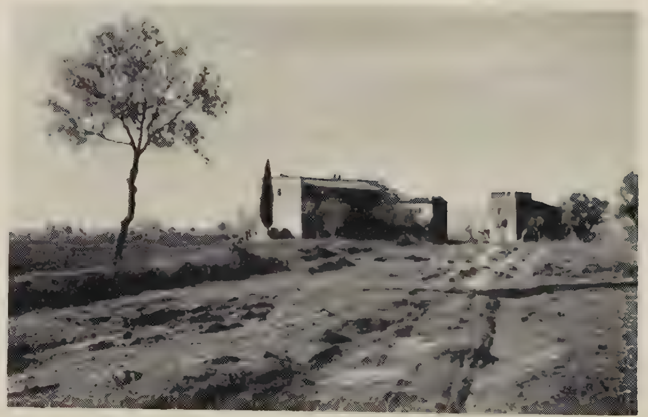
a. Santa Maria del Soccorso and the Via Amerina, Looking South-east



b. The Same, Looking North



c. S. Egidio and the 'Via della Canara'

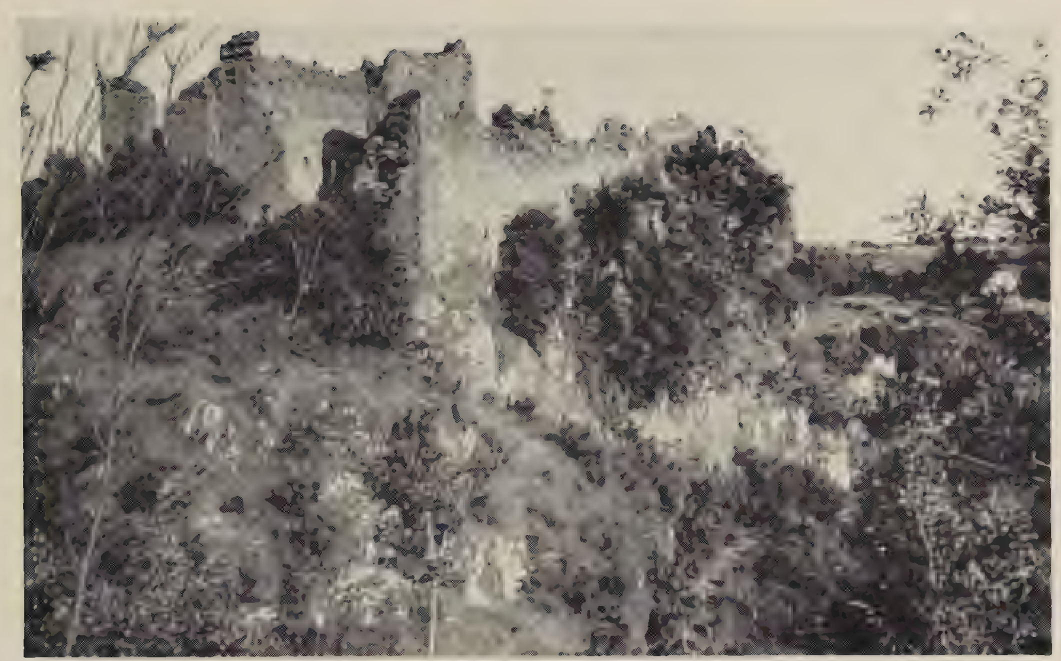


d. S. Maria delle Grazie and the Adjoining Ridgway Track

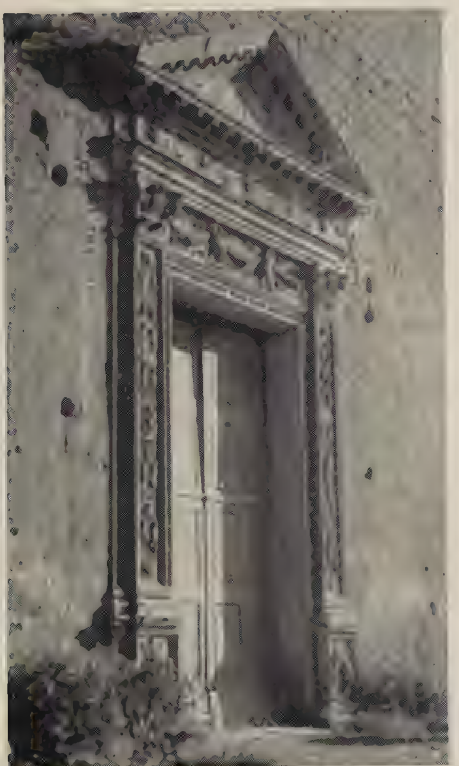
Roadside Churches near Corchiano

(*Photos: J. B. W. P.*)

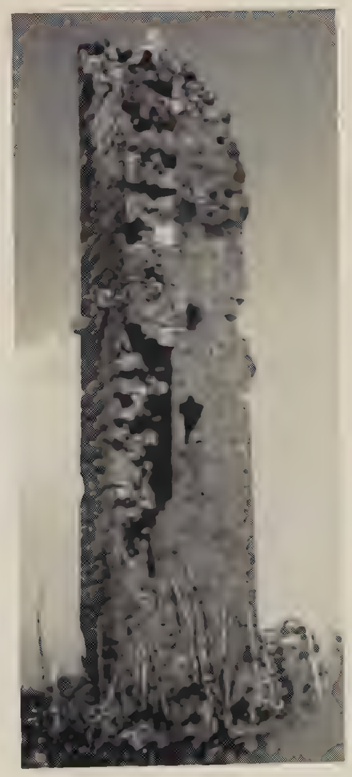
PLATE XXIX



a. Corchiano : il Castellaccio

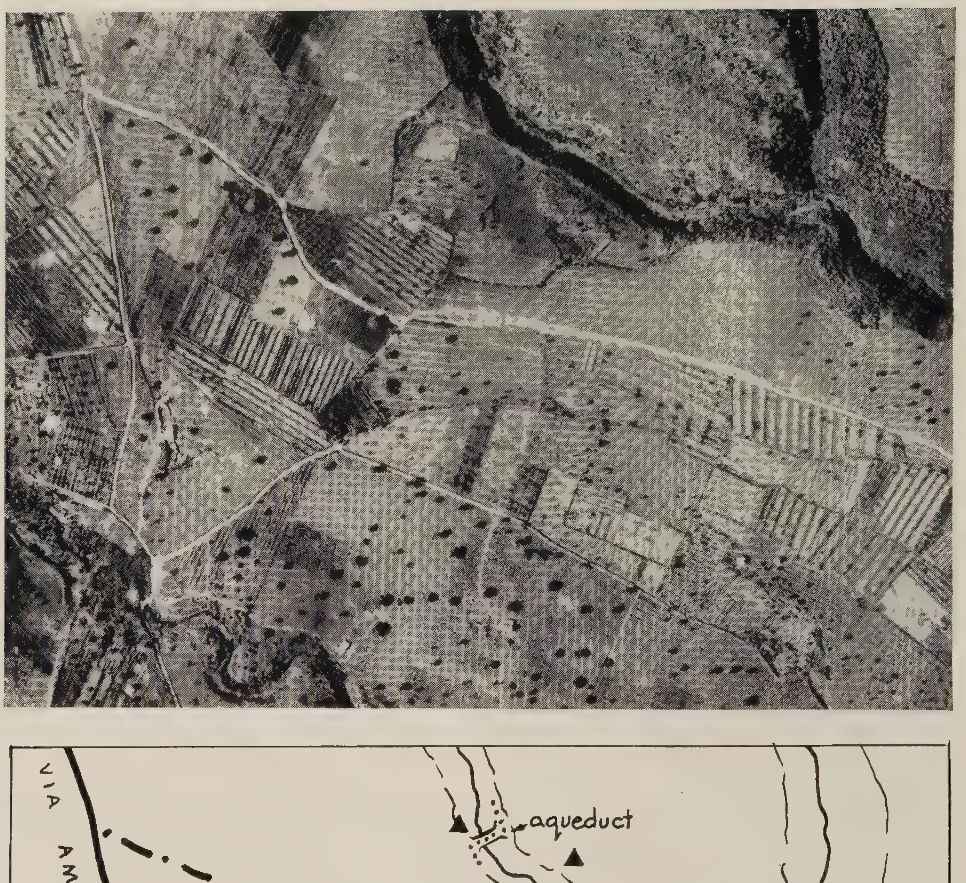


b. Corchiano, S. Maria del Soccorso the Main Door



c. Corchiano, Medieval Tower

(*Photos a, M. W. F. b, c, J. B. W. P.*)



THE FALISCAN SITE OF PONTE DEL PONTE, NEAR CORCHIANO. SCALE, 1:8,500 (APPROX.)

(British Crown Copyright: by permission of the Air Ministry)

PLATE XXXI

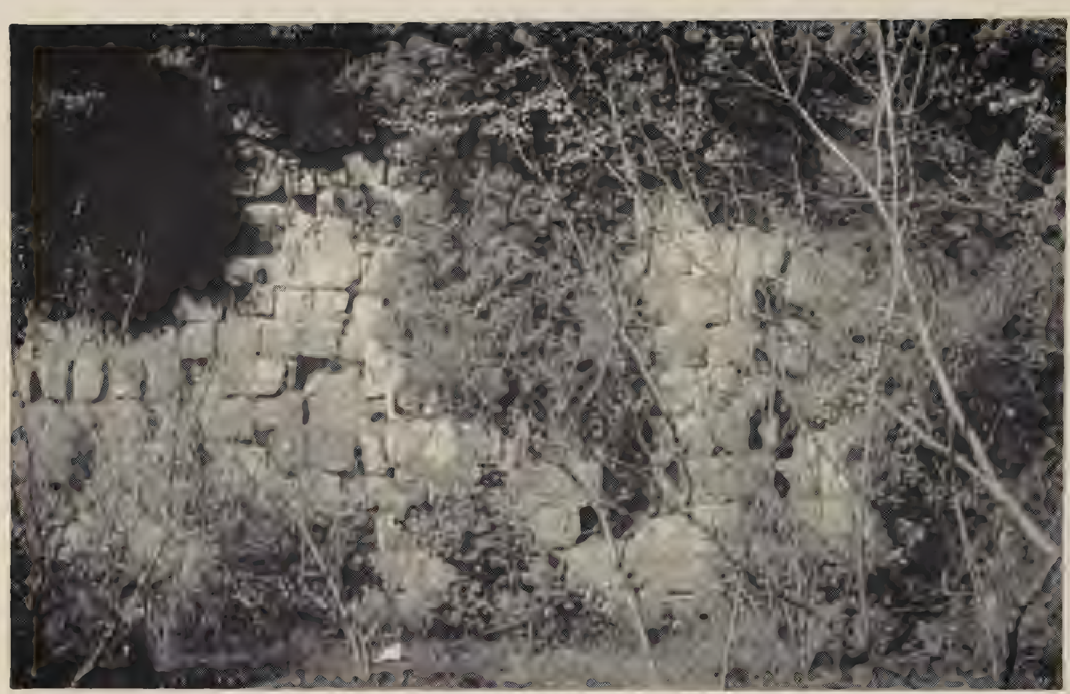
(J. B. W. P.)

a. The Faliscan Site of Ponte del Ponte, from the East

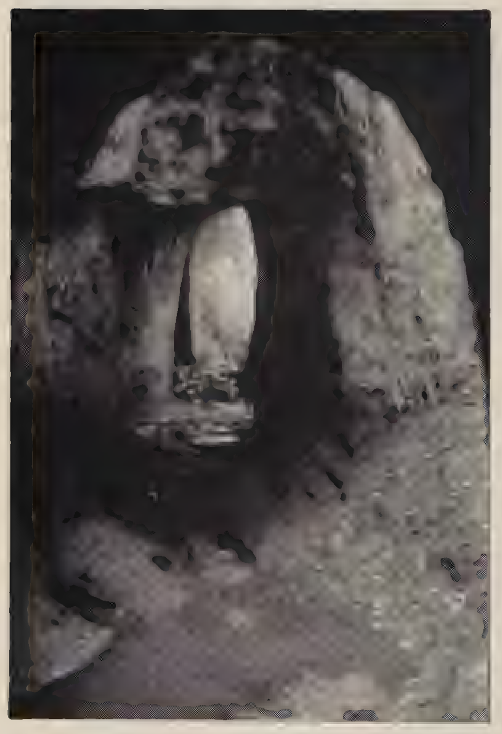
(J. B. W. P.)

b. Corchiano: Roadside Etruscan Inscription

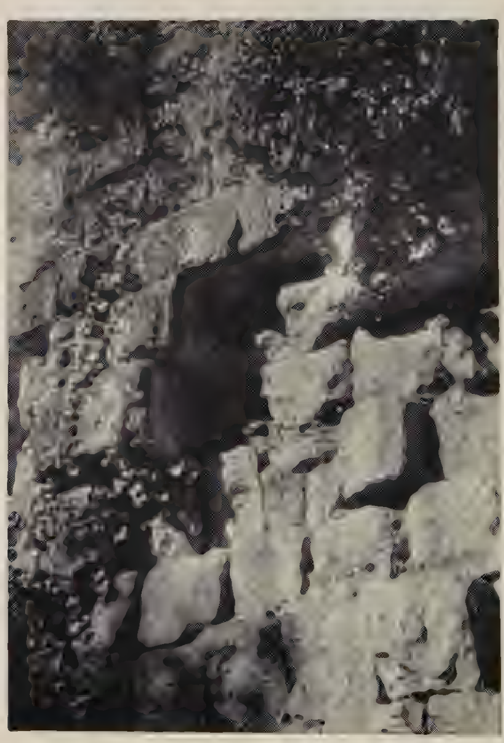
PLATE XXXII



a. Ponte del Ponte, the Aqueduct



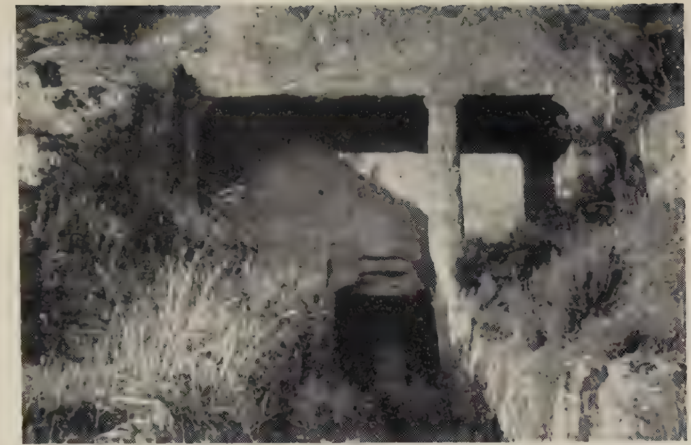
b The Same : *Cuniculus*

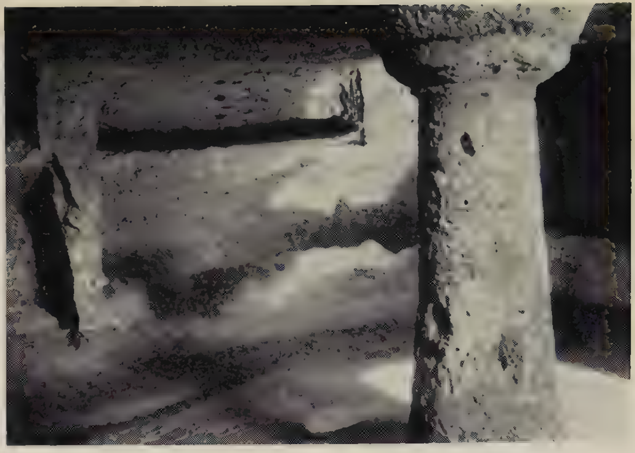


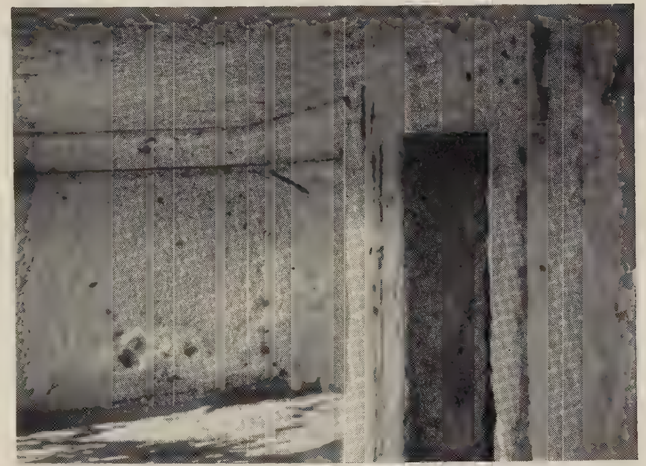
c The Same : Detail of Masonry

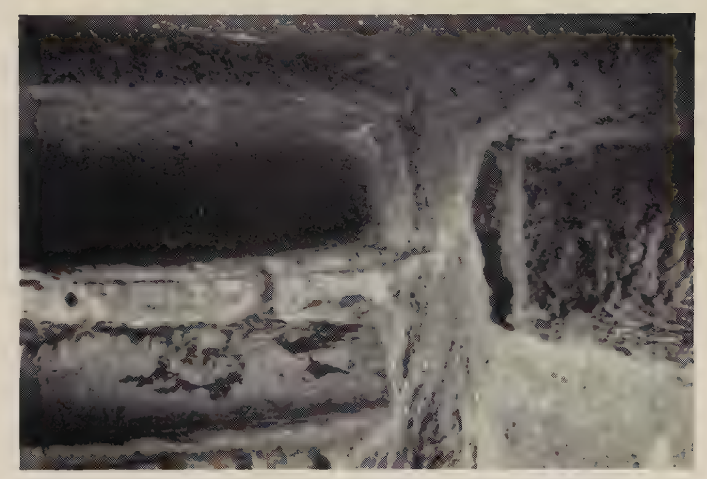
(*Photos* J. B. W. P.)

PLATE XXXIII


a. Ponte del Ponte. Faliscan Tomb (cf. fig. 22)


b. Interior of the Same


c. Fosso Maggiori, Tomb (cf. fig. 15)


d. Ponte Nepesino, Faliscan Tomb (cf. pl. XX, *c*)

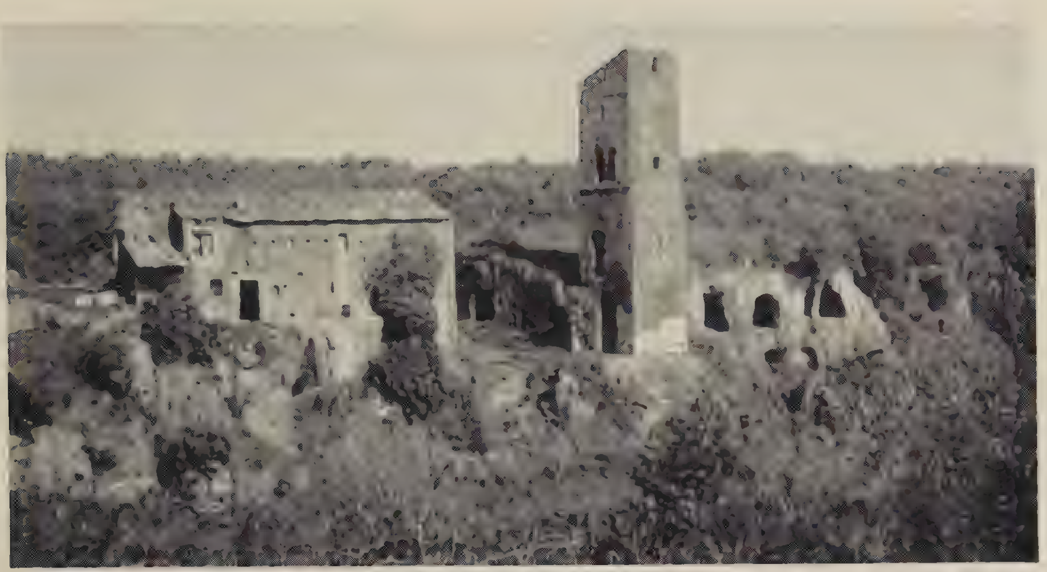
Photos. a, c, d, J. B. W. P.; b, G. U. S. Corbett

a. The Via Amerina at Fosso delle Chiare Fontane

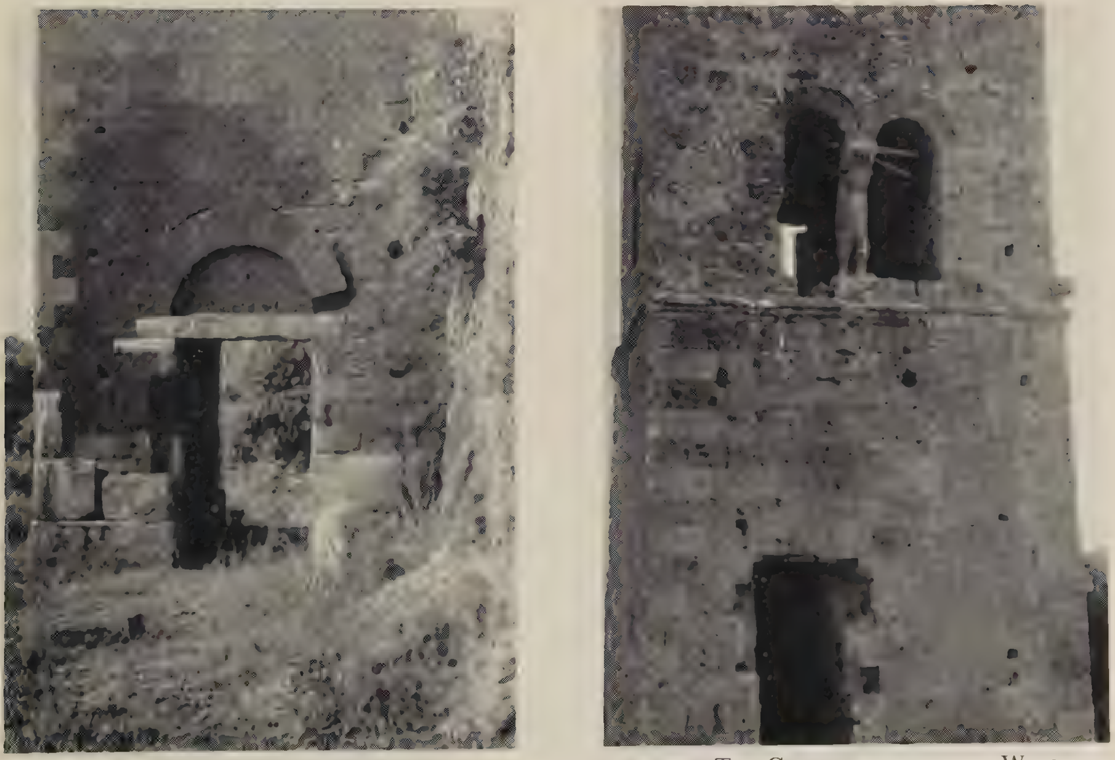
b. The Same : the Ancient (*left*) and the Medieval (*right*) Roads

(*Photos: J. B. W. P.*)

PLATE XXXV



a The Church and Campanile. from the South-west

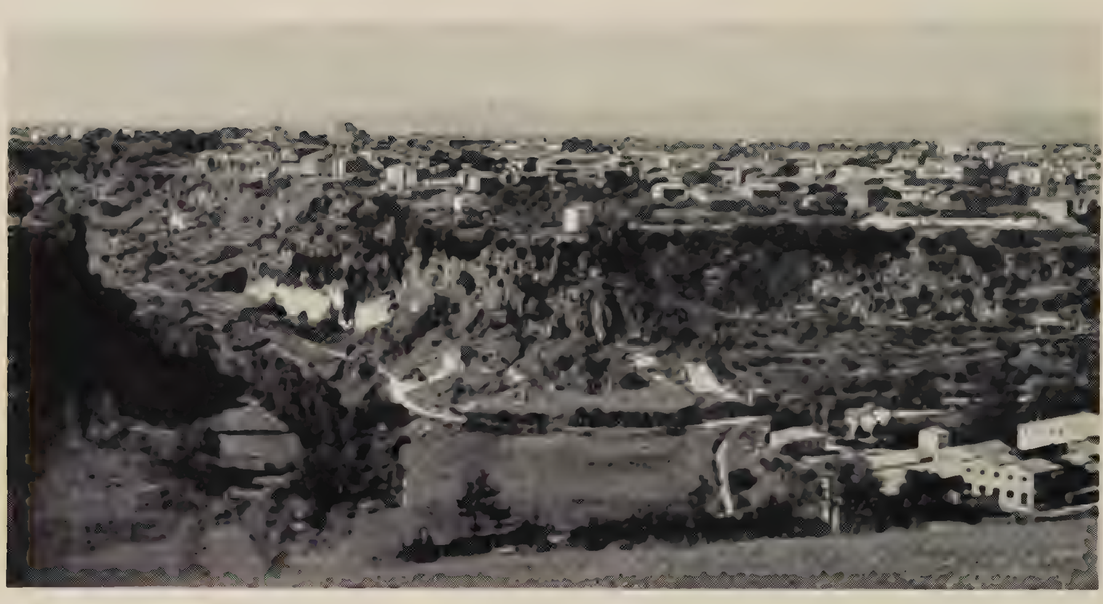


b. The Campanile, from the East

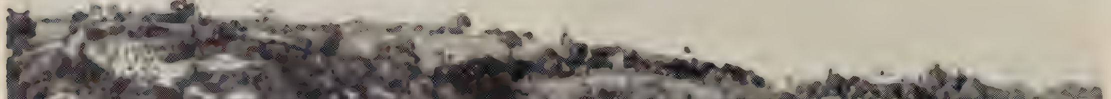
c. The Campanile, from the West

Casale Santa Bruna

(*Photos: J. B. W. P.*)

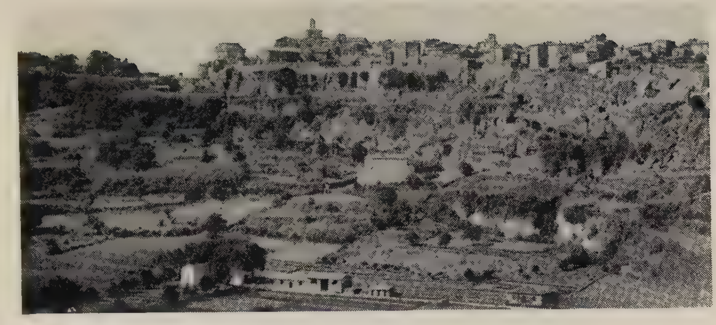


a. CIVITA CASTELLANA, FROM THE SOUTH-EAST

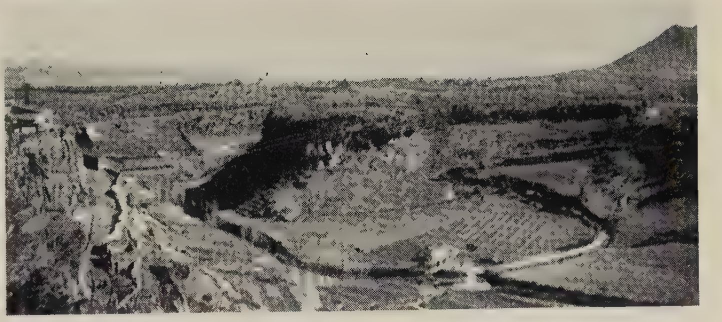


b. THE FOSSO MAGGIORE AND THE SITE OF THE TEMPLE OF JUNO CURITIS

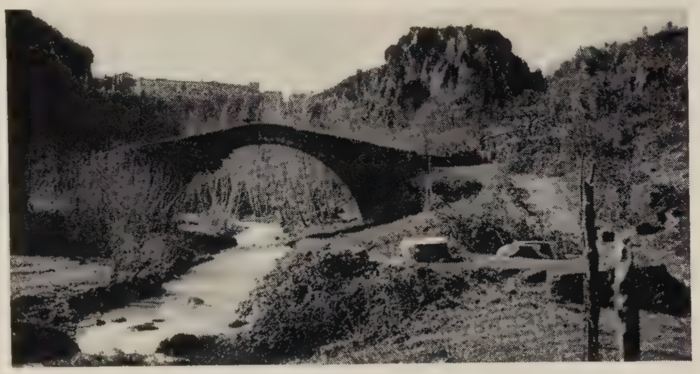
(*Photos: J. B. W. P*)



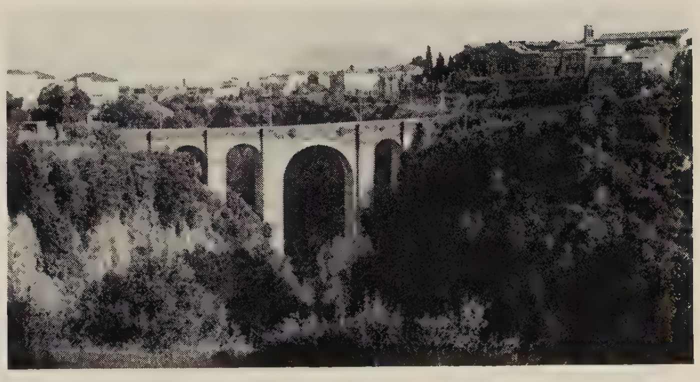
a. The Western End of the Town from the South, across the Rio Filetto



b. The Rio Filetto and the Old Road to Nepi



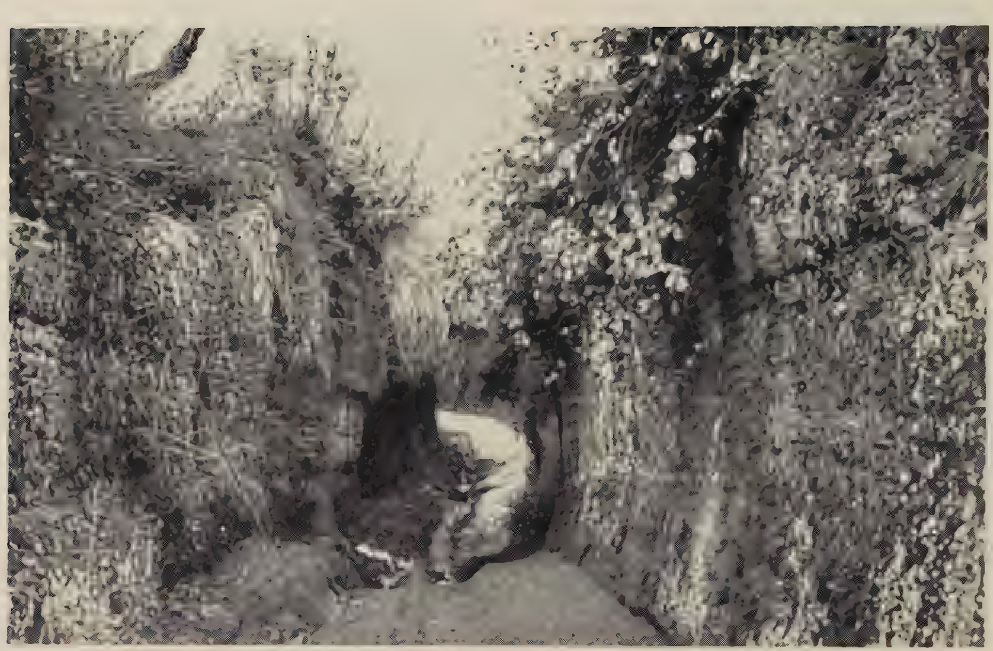
c. Old Bridge, just above the Temple of Juno Curitis



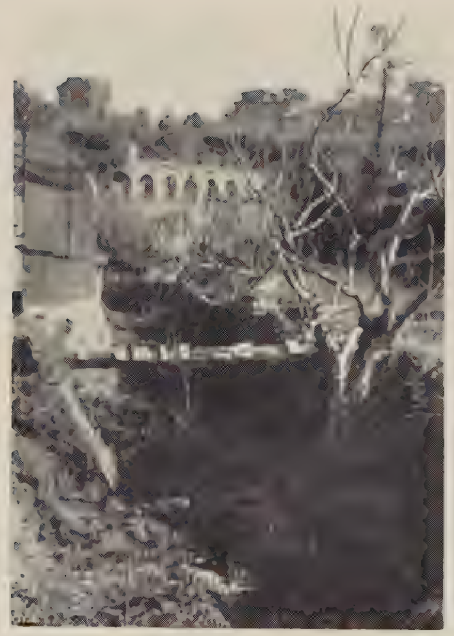
d. Ponte Clementino

Civita Castellana

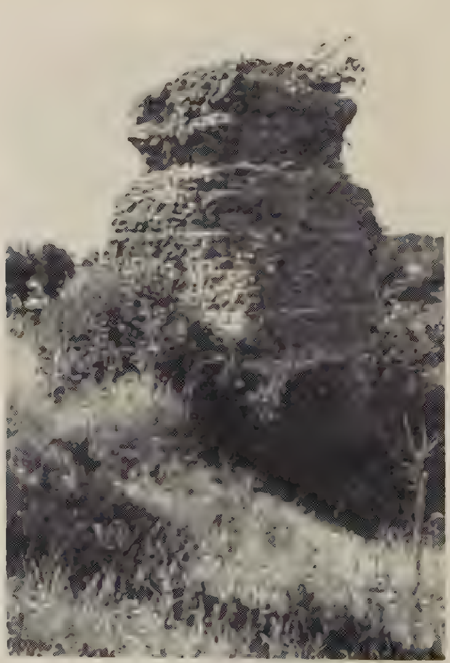
(*Photos: a, d, J. B. W. P.; b, c, M. W. F.*



a. The Old Road to Nepi, on the Piani di Castello



b. The Ancient Road to Falerii Novi, near Ponte Terrano

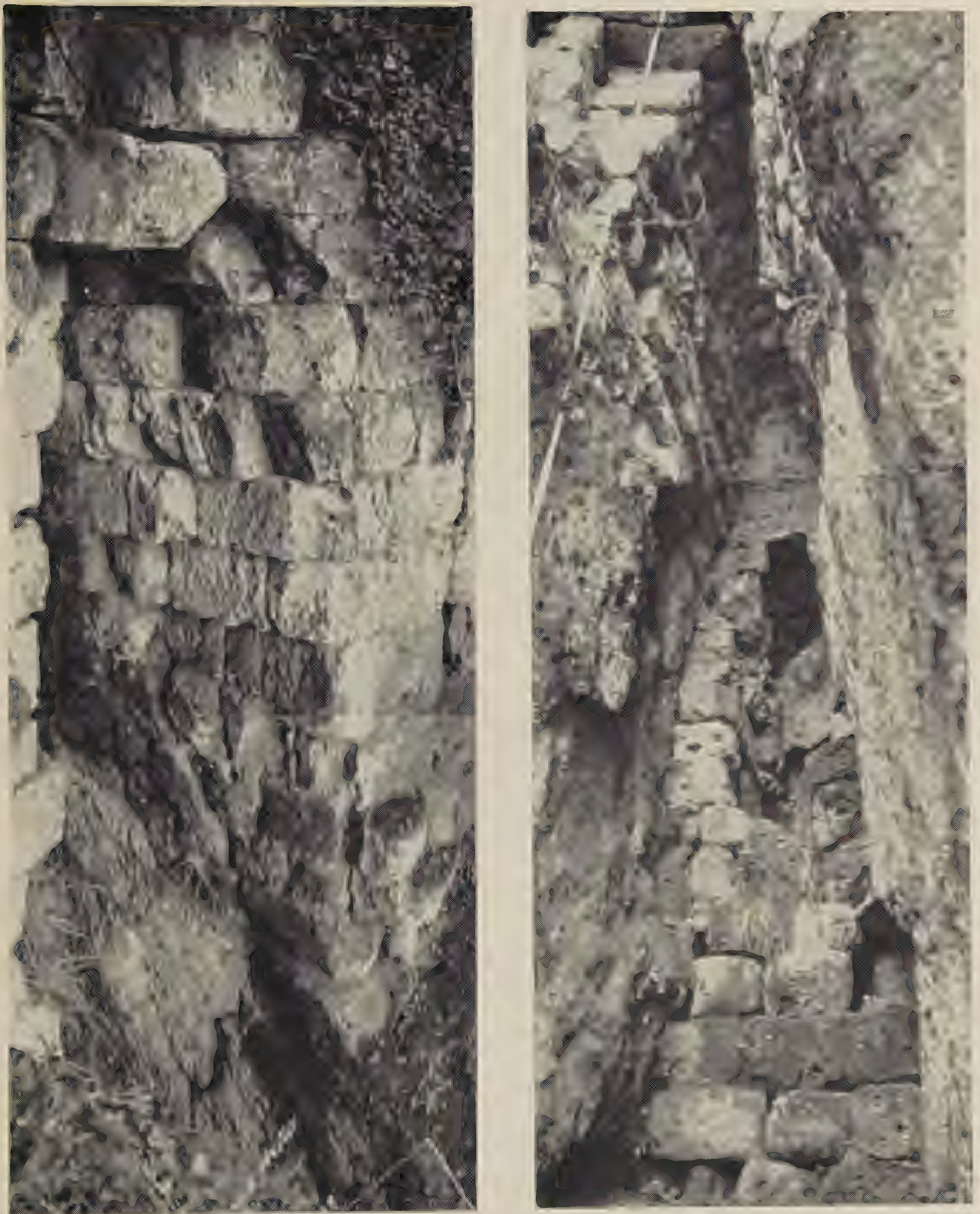


c. Roman Mausoleum on Montarano

Civita Castellana

(*Photos: M. W. F.*)

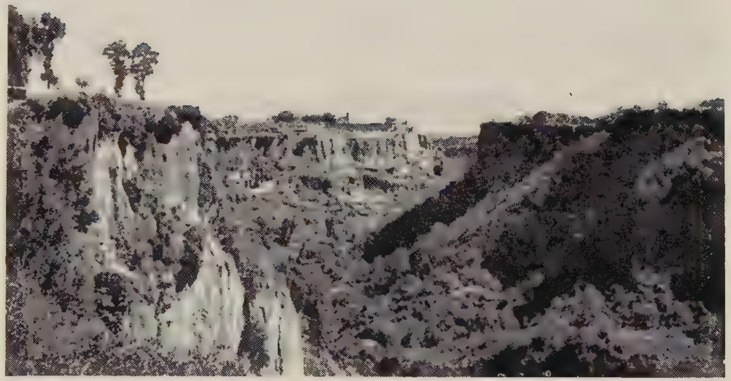
PLATE XXXIX



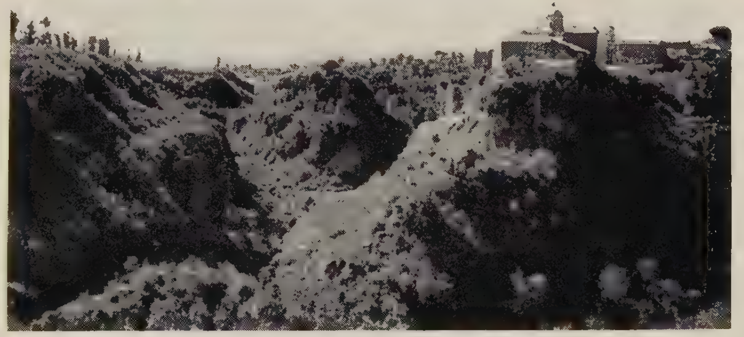
Civita Castellana : Ancient Gateway in the Grounds of the Convent of S. Maria del Carmine

(Photos: Guy Duncan)

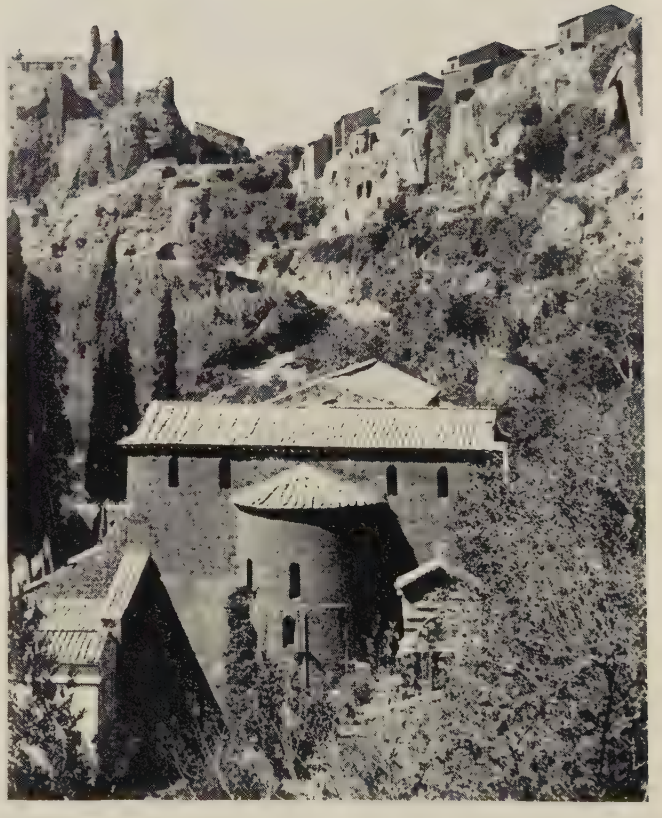
PLATE XL



a. The Fosso di Castello at Castel S. Elia

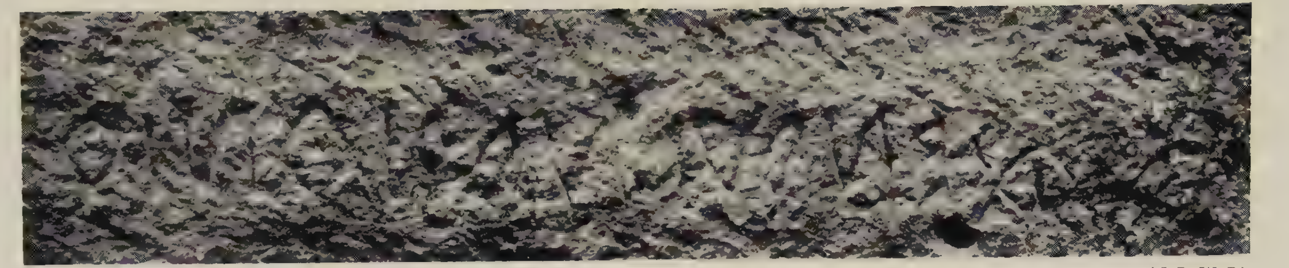


b. Nepi, from Castel S. Elia

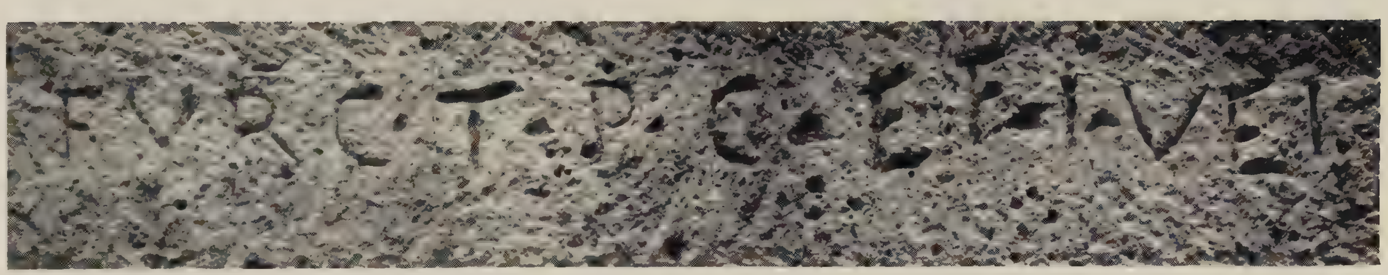


c. Castel S. Elia, Church and Village

(*Photos: J. B. W. P.*)

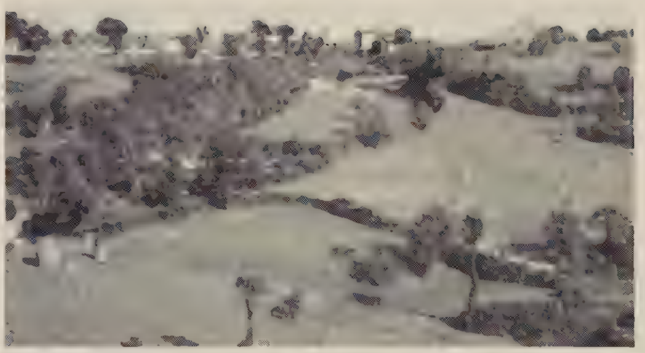


a. Inscription No. 2, in Etruscan Characters (*J. B. W. P.*)

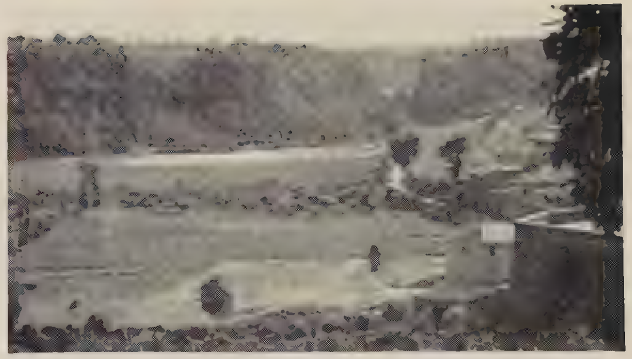


b. Inscription No. 1, in Latin Characters (*J. B. W. P.*)

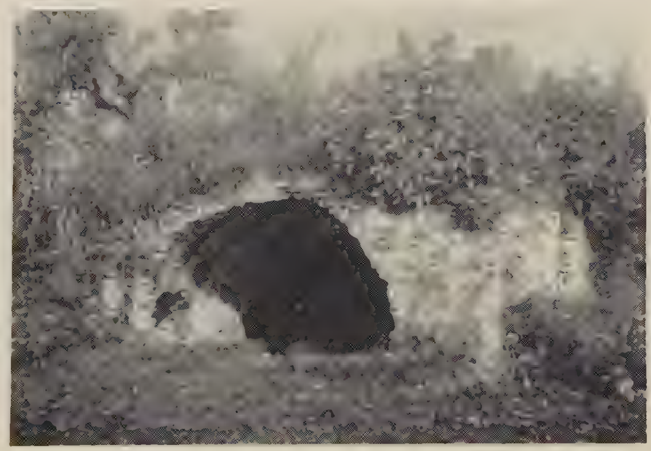
Rock-cut Inscriptions in a Road-cutting beside the Fosso Maggiore, 3 Km. West of Civita Castellana



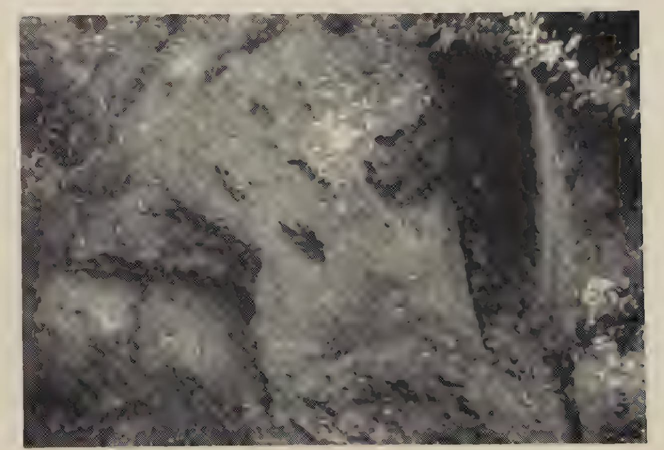
a. The Old Road to the South



b. The Old Road to Corchiano



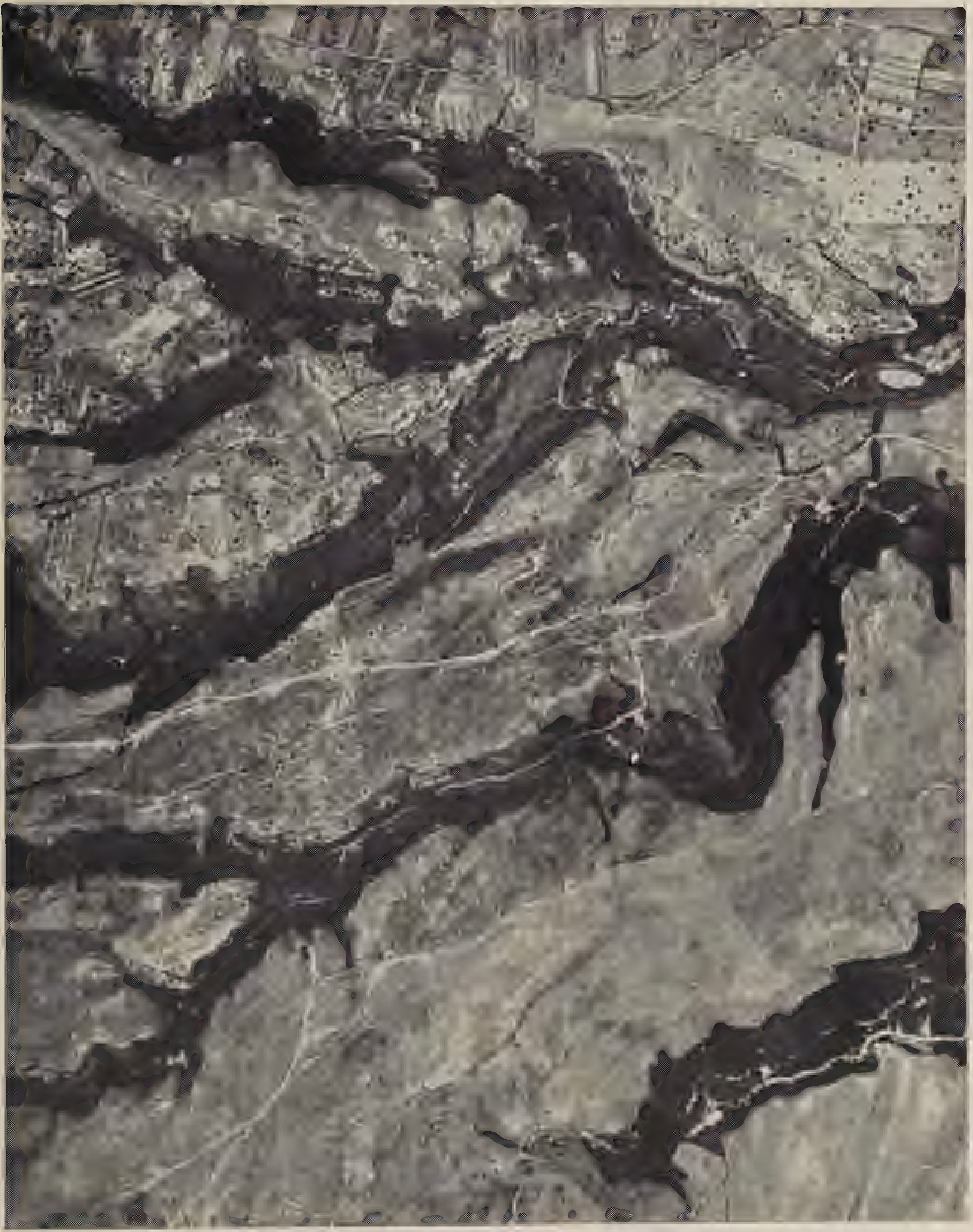
c. Roman Building beside the Soriano Road



d. Roadside *Cuniculi* at Grotta Porciosa

Gallese and its Roads

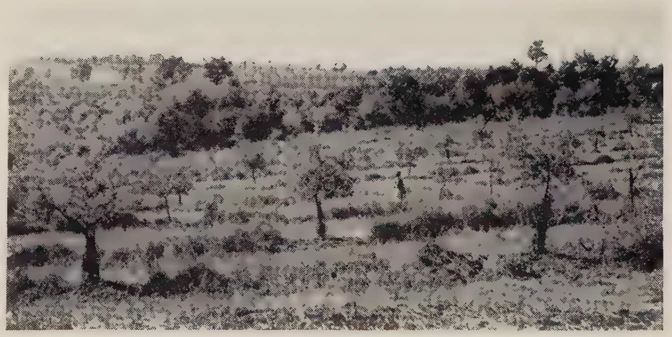
(*Photos J. B. W. P.*



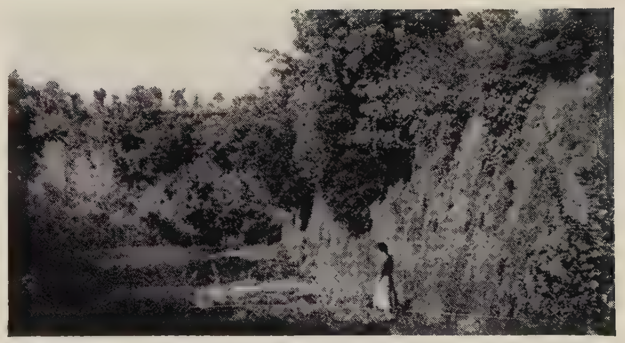
The Faliscan Site of Grotta Porciosa and its Roads. Scale, 1:15,500 (Approx.)

(British Crown Copyright: by permission of the Air Ministry)

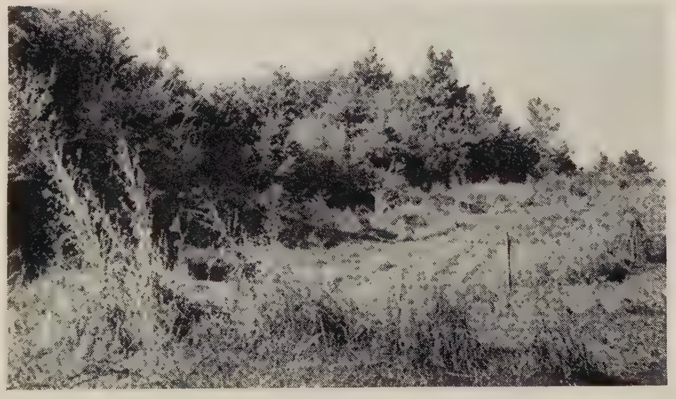
PLATE XLIV



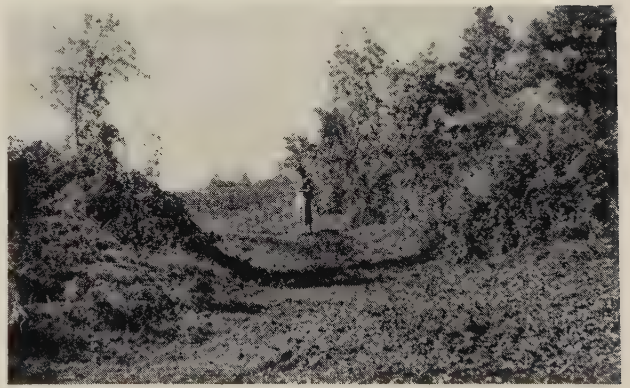
a. From the East



b. The West Ditch



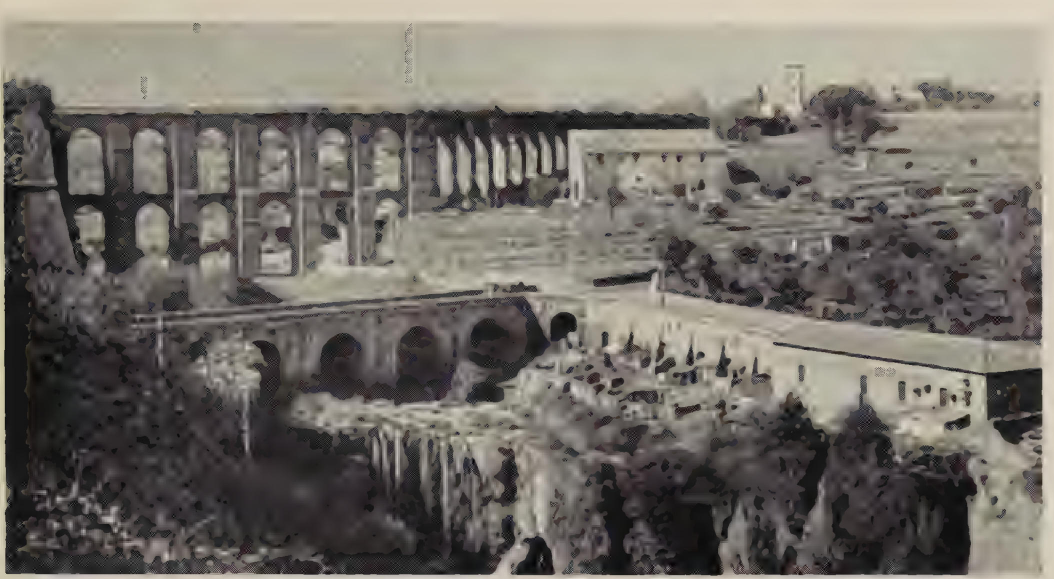
c. The South-east Angle



d. The Original East Gate

The Faliscan Site of Grotta Porciosa

(*Photos: J. B. W. P.*)

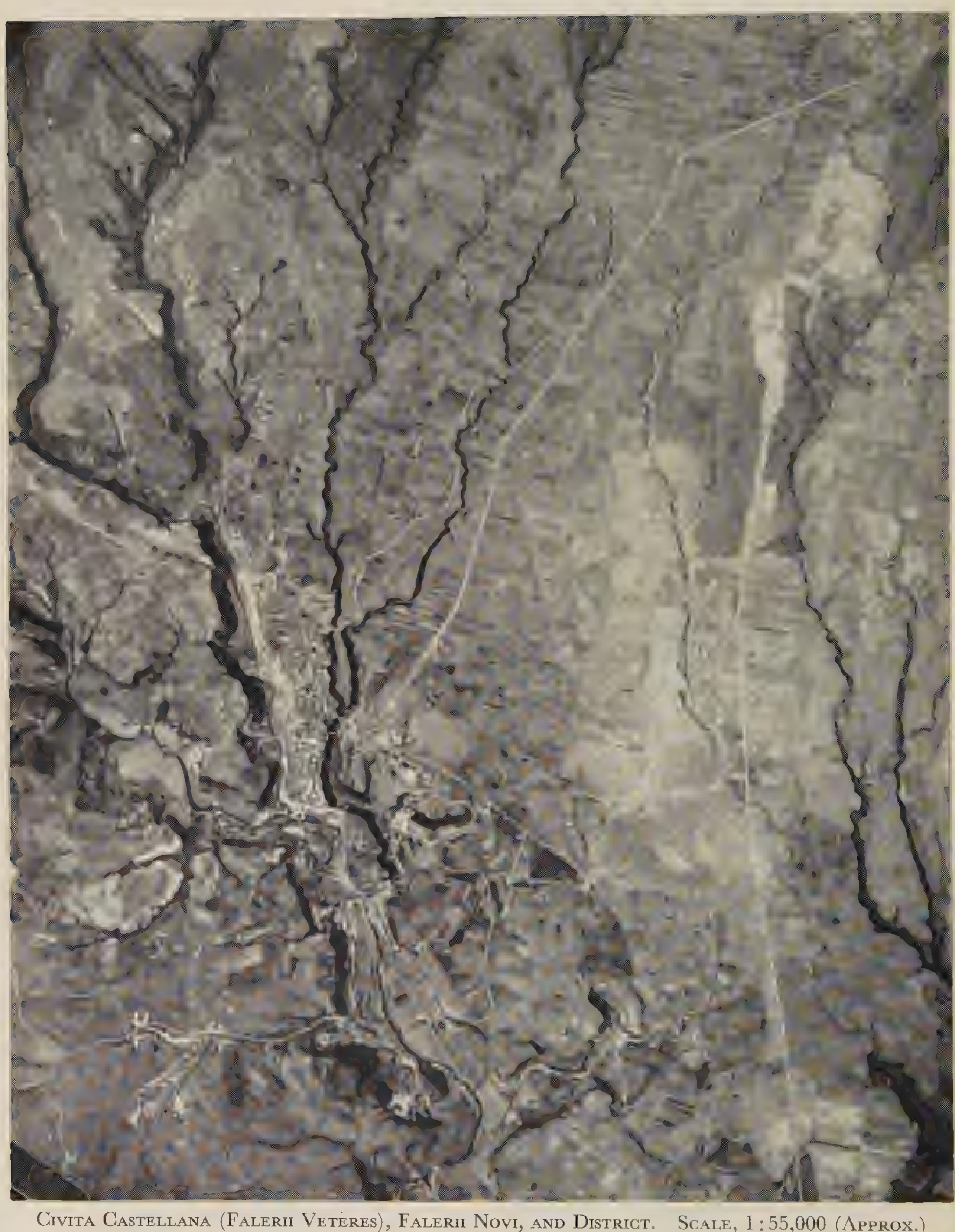


a. Nepi, The Papal Aqueduct and Road to Civita Castellana

b. Direction-post at the Beginning of the Papal Road

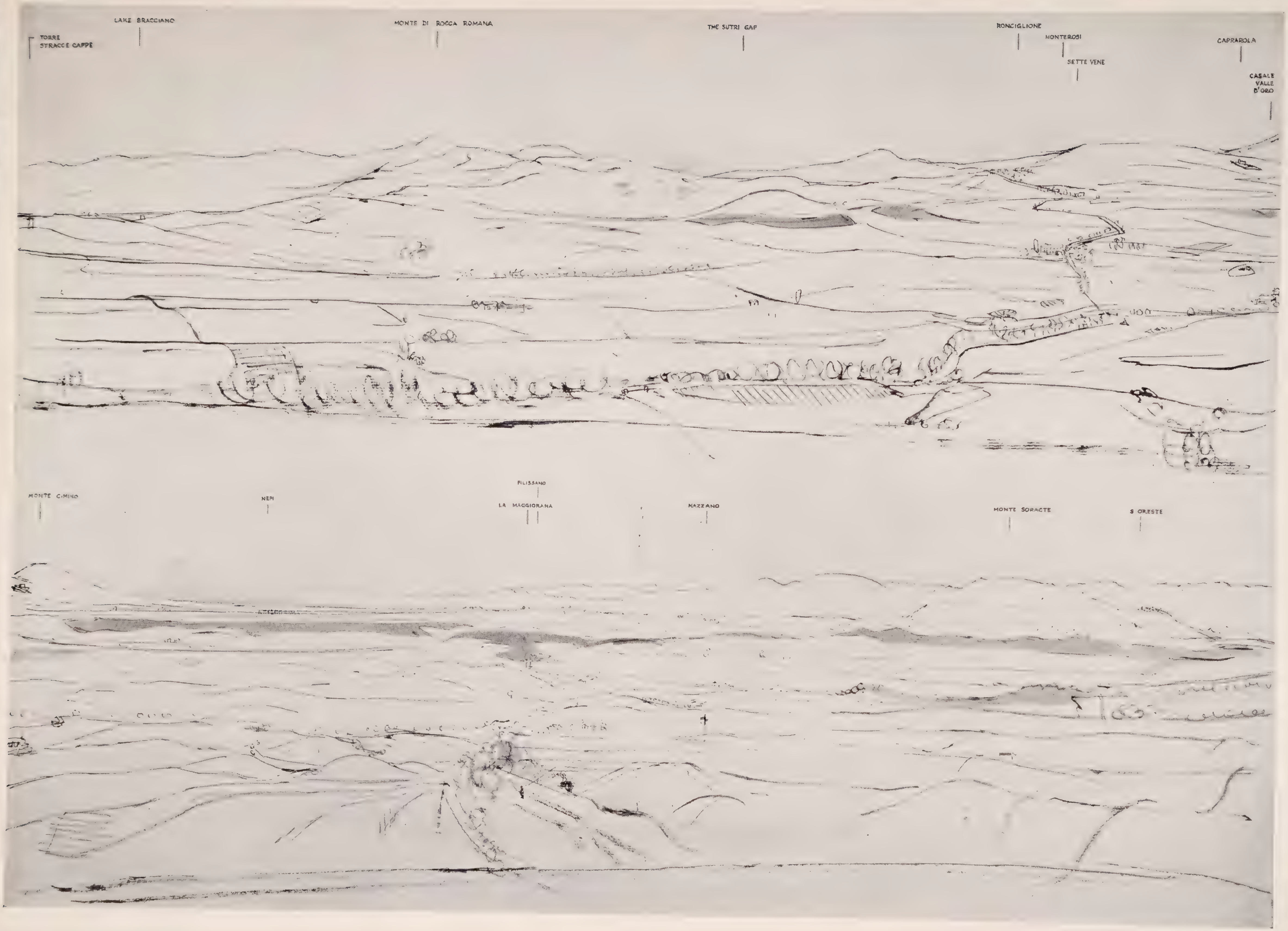
c. Inscription Let into the Base of *b*

(*Photos: J. B. W. P.*)



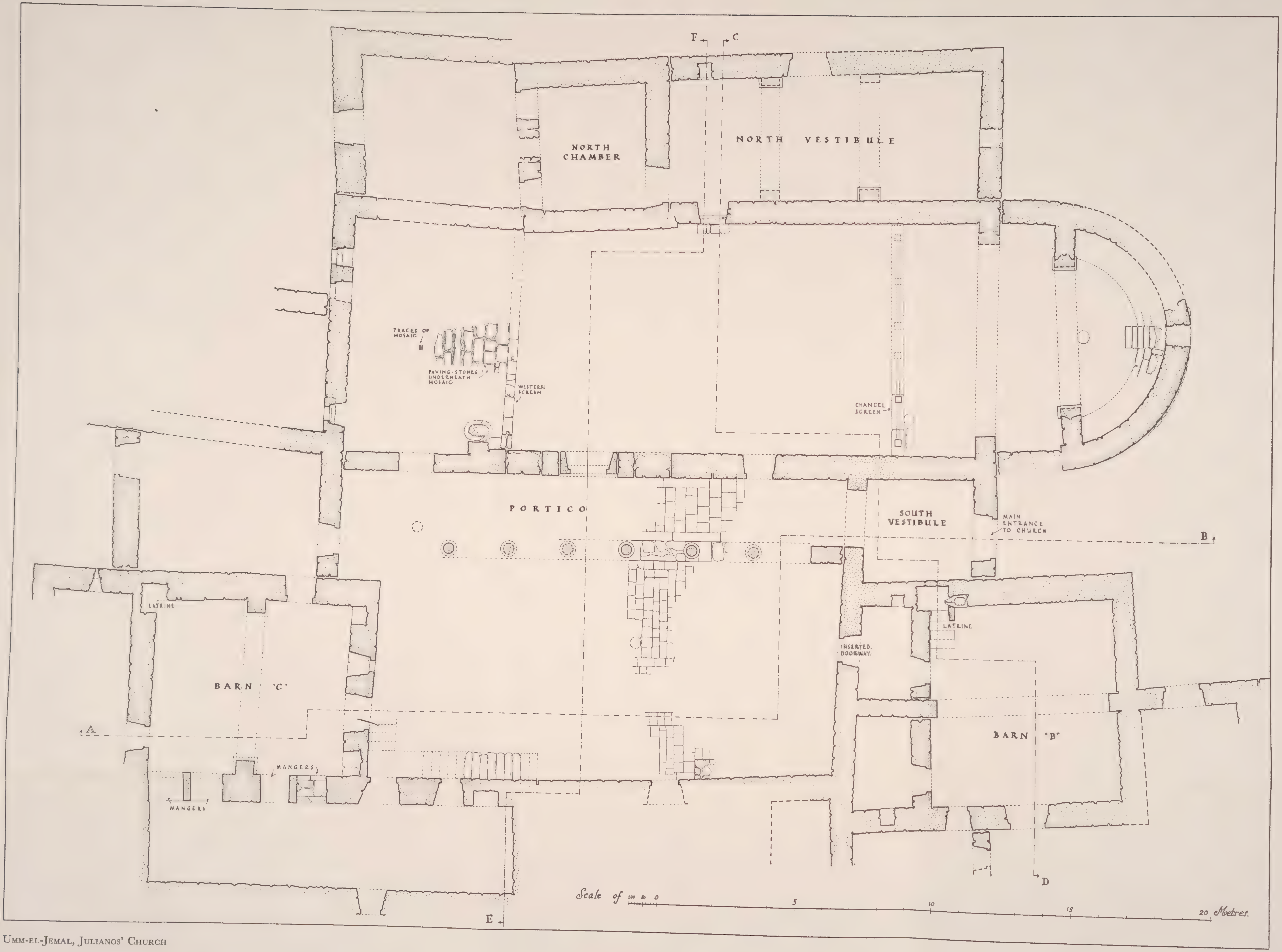
Civita Castellana (Falerii Veteres), Falerii Novi, and District. Scale, 1:55,000 (Approx.)

(British Crown Copyright: by permission of the Air Ministry)

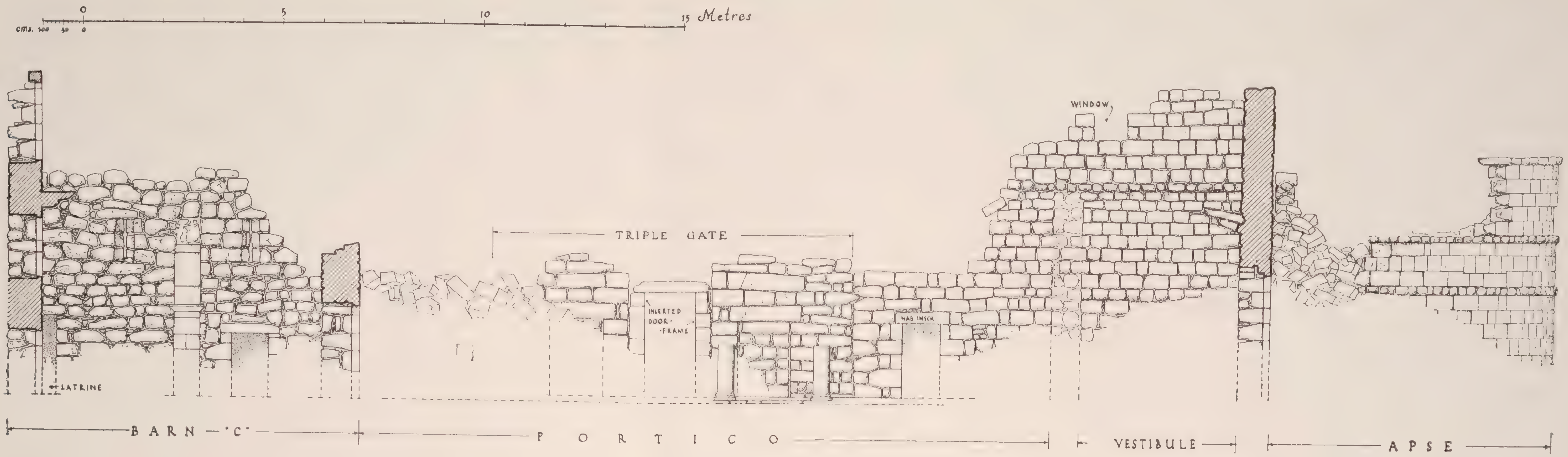


THE AGER FALISCUS FROM MONTE DEL IMPICCATO

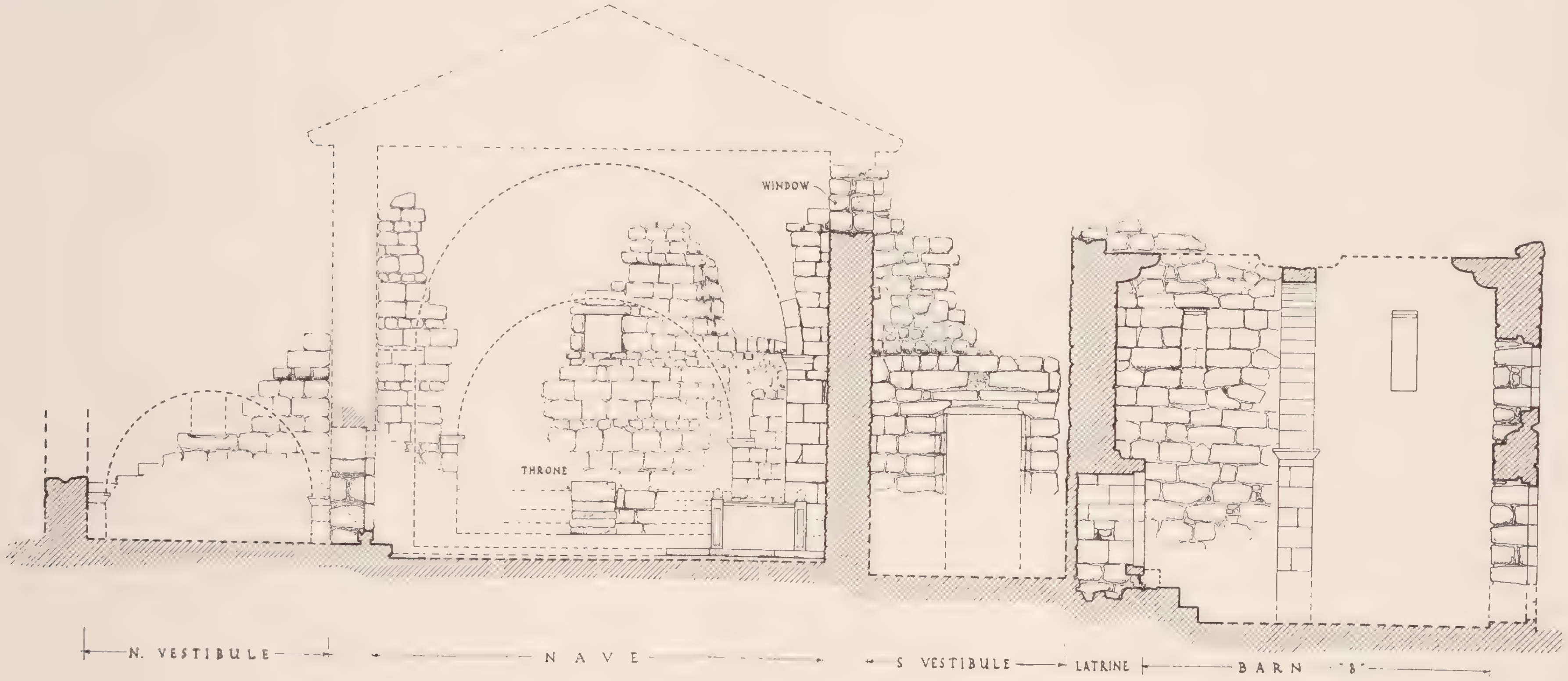
(Drawing by Walden Tucker)



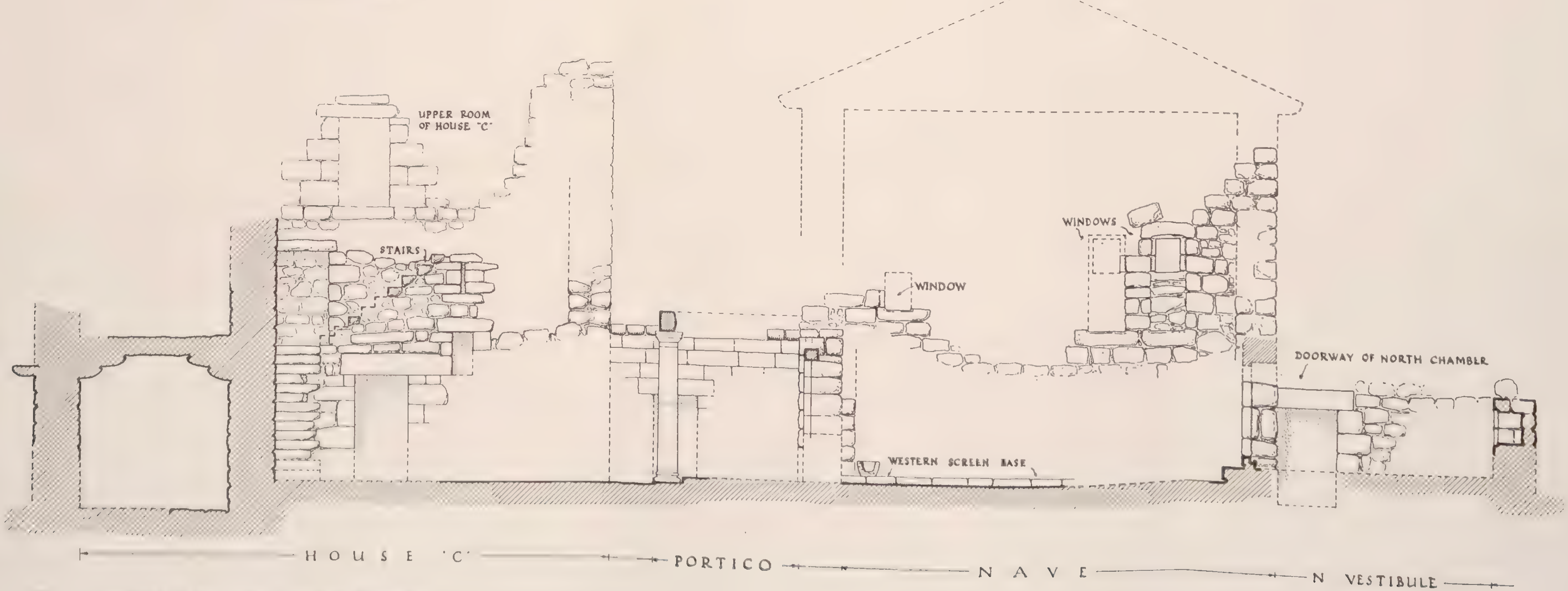
Umm-el-Jemal, Julianos' Church



A. Long-section facing North. [Line A-B on Plate I]



B. Cross-section facing East. [Line C-D]



C Cross-section facing West [Line E-F]

Umm-el-Jemal, Julianos' Church